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The Bombay Chronicle

Founder: Pherozeshah Mehta. Editor: Syed Abdullah Brelvi.

VOL. XXXV NO. 192 BOMBAY: FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 1947 Price: 2 Annas

Taj
TONIGHT and TOMORROW
CABARET DINNER DANCE
Full Cabaret
Sun. 17th:
CABARET TEA DANCE
(7 to 9 p.m.)
Harbour Bar:
Tue. 19th:
Farewell to
MOLLY O'CONNOR

Green's
TONIGHT, TOMORROW AND SUNDAY
CALARET DINNER DANCE
Wed. 20th
GALA NON STOP DANCE
Full Cabaret
Two Bands

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Kher Unfurls Flag Of Freedom

Bombay Prime Minister's Tribute To Mahatma

Huge Crowds Attend Midnight Functions Of Independence Day

BOMBAY, Friday.

"You are free!"

Surging multitudes cheered as Prime Minister B. G. Kher announced in these historic words the advent of India's freedom after he hoisted the National Flag in the Secretariat lawns at midnight Thursday, August 14.

Exactly at 12 p.m. gongs struck, bugles blew thrice in unison, sirens from ships and factories sounded and the millions of the city at many giant functions stood up and bowed solemly to honour India's Tricolour signifying the beginning of a great future and the end of an unhappy era.

"India is free from this moment and we should strive to make this freedom a dynamic one safeguarding the rights of all the downtrodden peoples of Asia." Mr. Kher said.

As the Premier's words strained with subdued emotion and spoken in measured terms, were carried over loud-speakers to the thousands or people who crowded round the Secretariat buildings, cries of acclamation broke out again and again.

Mr. Kher asked them to remember Mahatma Gandhi at the momentous hour for, he said, "he has been the architect of our freedom."

The Premier prefaced his brief oration with the prayer "Ishavasyamiam sarvam" which followed a half-hour chanting of Vedic Hymns and prayers by Muslim Parsi and Christian divines.

As the National Flag went up and an illuminated tricolour was switched on, the vast gathering sang "Vande Mataram" in unison.

Against a background of illumination that lit the city in a blaze of effulgence as never before, wildly enthusiastic crowds thronged the main thoroughfares, dressed in festive fashion and waving the Ashoka Chakra bearing tricolour. Till the early hours of the morning Bombay echoed to slogans and cheering, while preparations for the day-long celebration programme continued unabated.

AT CONGRESS HOUSE.

While transfer of power to an Indian Government was signified at the Secretariat function at which Ministers and high officials were present, another equally big function at the Congress House symbolised the coming of the Indian people into their own after decades of dependance. Unfurling the national tricolour here, Mr. S. K. Patil asked the people to be worthy of their freedom.

AT THE HIGH COURT.

Sir Leonard Stone, Chief Justice of Bombay, acted in a similar capacity when the tricolour was hoisted in the High Court before a large gathering of members of the legal profession including all the judges. In an eloquent speech which preceded the ceremony, Sir Leonard pleaded for an abiding friendship between the freedom-loving peoples of India and England.

Mr. Oscar Brown, Chief Presidency Magistrate, participated in a well-attended function at the Esplanade Police Court where the flag was unfurled. Magistrates of all the law courts in the city and members of the bar were present.

A torch-light procession by students was taken out from the Oval Maidan after midnight. It terminated at Choupatty.

Delhi Inherits India's International Status

NEW DELHI, August 14, (A.P.I.): The Dominion of India will be solely entitled to all the international rights to which India was entitled. Moreover, the Dominion of India will continue to be a member of international organisations of which India was a member and the Dominion of Pakistan will take such steps as may be necessary to apply for membership of international organisations.

This is the substance of the Indian Independence Order, International arrangements, issued by the Viceroy today.

The order is to have force of an agreement between the two Dominions of India and Pakistan.

NAZIMUDDIN IN DACCA

Only Three Ministers For East-Bengal To Begin With

DACCA, August 14. (A.P.I.): Khwaja Nazimuddin, Premier-designate of East Bengal who arrived here today, told the "Associated Press of India" that for the present he would form a cabinet of only three, including himself. The other two members would be Mr. Nurul Amin, formerly Speaker of the Bengal Legislative Assembly, and Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury, M.L.C. They would be sworn in tomorrow morning.

It is expected that the Ministry may be expanded within a fortnight.

Khwaja Nazimuddin, on arrival here this morning was accorded a rousing reception by a large number of persons, Hindus and Muslims, and was profusely garlanded.

The Premier-designate was then taken in a procession to Burdwan House at Ramna, which is his official residence. He was also given enthusiastic reception at Narainganj station by both Hindus and Muslims.

GOVERNOR-DESIGNATE'S ARRIVAL

Sir Frederick Bourne, Governor-designate of East Bengal, arrived here by plane this afternoon.

MINORITY EXODUS FROM EAST BENGAL

An exodus of minority communities is going on for the past few days. In view of the rush of passengers, the joint steamer companies had to run a special steamer from Narainganj to Goalundo and a specially chartered plane made four flights from Dacca to Calcutta and back today.

Mr. Surendra Mohan Ghosh, President of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, and other leaders arrived here this morning by plane.

Govt.'s Final Terms To Non-Acceding States

(From Our Correspondent)

NEW DELHI, August 14

The Government of India, it is learnt laid down two conditions to the accession of Indore to Indian Union namely that the Prime Minister of Indore shall always be appointed with the approval of the Government of India and that the Cantonment of Mhow shall be permanently ceded to India.

Enquries also show that Indian troops stationed in Secunderabad shall be maintained till such time as Government of India regards their maintenance in the general interest of India and of Hyderabad. In the last analysis, it is the will of the people which will be determining factor in the State standing on or in its joining the non-contiguous Union. Interests of Union and her subjects shall always be paramount as far as Government of India is concerned. It therefore follows that Government of India might be compelled to maintain armed forces on the frontiers of non-acceding States to prevent any likely disorders within the States spreading to India Government of India as I have already indicated refused to recognise independence of any state or grant to it, status in any way equal to itself., Treaty with Hyderabad would have deemed to concede equality to Hyderabad and would have been tantamount to the recognition of its independence. Although Lord Mountbatten's strategy remains a top secret, it is unthinkable that Hyderabad from the zero hour tonight would enjoy any of its facilities which the acceding States have acquired in their right. Even Mr. Churchill if he were to join British Government would not be able to assist Hyderabad it is asserted here.

Economic sanctions against non-acceding States, particularly Hyderabad, seem inevitable.

State Congress To Defy Nizam's Order

(From Our Correspondent.)

HYDERABAD, August 14.

It is learnt that the Hyderabad State Congress has decided to disobey, according to the announcement made by its president, the Nizam's Government Order, prohibiting the flowing of Indian Dominion flag by that organization on pain of imprisonment.

Henderson's New Job

LONDON, Aug. 14 (Reuter). Mr. Arthur Henderson, Under-Secretary for India and Burma, has been appointed Minister of State for Commonwealtr Relations, it was officially announced tonight.

Indore Accedes To Union

(From Our Correspondent.)

INDORE, Aug. 14.

Indore Ruler announced this evening that he had signed the instrument of Accession and the Standstill Agreement. He also announced that it has been proposed to appoint three non-official ministers in the cabinet of eight. Ministers will be entrusted with the portfolios of Food, Local Self-Government and Labour.

Announcing two days holiday on attaining the status of independent sovereign, Ruler has ordered hoisting of Holkar flag on all Government and private buildings.

ALL-PARTY CABINET FOR INDIA

NEW DELHI, Aug. 14, (API): The new cabinet which will function from August 15, announced tonight will consist of the following:

Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru; Prime Minister; EXTERNAL AND COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS SCIENSCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel: HOME INFORMATION AND BROADCASTIFIC RESEARCH.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad: FOOD AND AGRICULTURE.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: EDUCATION

Dr. John Matthai: RAILWAYS AND TRANSPORT.

Sardar Baldev Singh: DEFENCE.

Mr. Jagjivan Ram: LABOUR.

Mr. C. H. Bhabha: COMMERCE.

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai: COMMUNICATIONS.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur: HEALTH

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar: LAW.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: FINANCE.

Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerji: INDUSTRIES AND SUPPLIES.

Mr. N. V. Gadgil: WORKS, MINES AND POWER.

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Six Members In Pakistan Cabinet

KARACHI, August 14, (U.P.I.): The United Press learns that the Pakistan Dominion Cabinet shall consist of six ministers for the time being If the present plans are adhered to they shall be Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Sirdar Abdur Rauf Nishtar, Mr. Gazanfar Ali Khan, Mr. J. N. Mandal Mr. I. I. Chundrigar and Mr. Gulam Mohammed—a former finance minister of Hyderabad (Dn.) The present portfolios shall not be disturbed except that Mr. Ghulam Mohammed shall allotted the finance portfolio.

NOTICE TO READERS

In Celebration of Independence Day, the office of the "Bombay Chronicle" will remain closed to-day Aug. 15. There will, therefore be no issue of the paper tomorrow Saturday.

G. B. S. Rail Strike Called Off

BARODA, August 14, (A.P.I.): The fourteen-day-old G.B.S. Railway workers' strike has been called off. It is officially announced today.

SACHIN BAN ON INDIA'S FLAG

SURAT, August 14. (A.P.I.): Sachin State authorities have prohibited the hoisting of the Indian National Flag within the limits of the State territory, according to a report published in a local daily.

JAIPUR STATE TO JOIN INDIAN DOMINION

JAIPUR, August 14 (A.P.I.): His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur has formally authorised the accession of Jaipur State to the Dominion of India.

MOUNTBATTEN GETS EARLDOM

"C.R." Sworn In As West-Bengal Governor

LONDON, August 14. (Reuter): Viscount Mountbatten, Governor-General-Designate of India was today awarded an earldom.

FRESH OATH-TAKING IN BOMBAY

BOMBAY, Thursday (A.P.I.): H. E. the Governor and the Ministers will take a new oath of office at the Council Hall tomorrow at 10 a.m.

It is understood that the staff of the Secretariat have been invited to be present on the occasion.

"C. R." SWORN IN

CALCUTTA, August 15. (A.P.I.): The Governor of West Bengal, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari and his Council of Ministers headed by Dr. P. C. Ghosh, were sworn in at Government House at midnight today.

PAKVASA IN NAGPUR

NAGPUR, August 14. (U.P.I.): Mr. Mangaldas Pakvasa, the Governor-designate of the Central Provinces and the Berar, arrived here this morning by a specially chartered plane.

EAST PUNJAB SECRETARIAT

SIMLA, August 14. (A.P.I.): East Punjab Civil Secretariat opened in Simla today.

600 PRISONERS RELEASED

POONA, August 14. (A.P.I.): Over 600 prisoners were released from the Yerawada Central Prison, Poona, today, under orders of the Government of Bombay in celebration of the Independence Day.

Half a dozen of them belonged to the Forward Bloc and were detained on political grounds. Obviously elated at their premature release, they raised slogans of 'Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai', Pandit Nehru Ki Jai.

Satyagraha Before Aurobindo Ashram

NEW DELHI, August 14, (A.P.I.): French Indians in Pondicherry will offer Satyagraha in front of Aurobindo Ashram on August 15, birthday of Shri Aurobindo Ghose, to persuade devotees and admirers not to see Aurobindo Ghose until he supports the right of self-determination of the inhabitants of French India, who desire to join the Indian Union.

Chiang Greets Nehru And Jinnah

Independence Day Messages From Far And Near

NANKING, August 14, (Reuter): In a message to Pandit Nehru, President Chiang Kaishek said:

On this auspicious occasion when the people of India celebrate the dawn of a new era of freedom, I wish to convey to you and the people of India my warm congratulations on the glorious monumental achievement in which you and Mahatma Gandhi played such an eminent and able part and which I feel confident will be source of inspiration to all people striving for independence, equality and progress.

"Please accept my best wishes for India's prosperity and success."

GREETINGS TO JINNAH

President Chiang Kaishek's cable to Mr. Jinnah read: "On behalf of my Government and on my own behalf I wish to offer you my warm congratulations on the creation of a new state of Pakistan and my sincere wishes for her future prosperity and success.

To Viscount Mountbatten also Chiang Kaishek has sent a congratulatory message.

HENRY WALLACE GREETS INDIA

NEW YORK, August 14, (Reuter): The Independence of India is "an event so dramatic that it will take mankind generations to realise its full significance", Mr. Henry Wallace, former United States Vice-President said here today.

"On August 15, 1947, this century records one of the greatest events in history", he said.

"Nope can now attempt to judge the greatness of India's future contribution to the comity of nations; we only know that it will change the entire nature of the world we live in.

"No citizen of the world can fail to join me in wishing the people of India and their leaders strength, courage and success as they face the challenge of the coming years".

SAROJINI'S MESSAGE ON INDEPENDENCE EVE

NEW DELHI, August 14, (A.P.I.): Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, in a message on Independence Eve says:

O lovely dawn of freedom that breaks in gold and purple over the ancient capital of Prithviraj!

O splendid flag of newborn India to be unfurled on the morrow over the Red Fort of Shahjehan!

We pay you the homage of our dedicated heart and hands and pledge ourselves to translate into glorious deeds the dreams that were our share and inspiration in the long darkness of our bondage.

BRITAIN HAS HONOURED POST-DATED CHEQUE

NEW DELHI, August 14. (A.P.I.): Mr. Arthur Moore, former Editor of the "Statesman", in a message to India says: "I am happy that Britain has honoured the post-dated cheque with which, despite India's refusal, she credited India's account in 1942. The result will be good for the whole world."

POSTAL HOLIDAY TODAY

NEW DELHI, August 15. (A.P.I.): All post offices in India [illegible] Friday, August [illegible] holiday on account of [illegible] Independence Day.

LOYALTY TO STATE IS ARTICLE OF FAITH WITH MUSLIMS

City League Chief's Call To Help Govt. Maintain Peace And Order

Mr. Hasan A. Shaikh, President, Bombay City Muslim League in a message on the Independence Day seates as follows:

"My heartiest congratulations to the citizens of the Indian Union on this glorious day on which the shackles of bondage would be no more. The dreams of millions of us have been realised today and we are in a position to breathe free air and assert our self-respect before the world. Loyalty is an article of faith of the Musalmans. It is necessary that every citizen should be loyal to the State and should contribute his mite in making the State prosperous and powerful.

"The first requirement today is the peace and tranquillity of the land. We must help the Government in the maintenance of the Law and Order as a free-requisite of the progress of the Indian Union. I wish our State will grow powerful and prosperous and every citizen irrespective of his caste and creed will be given equal opportunity in the State."

LATEST COMMERCIAL

NEW YORK COTTON (OCTOBER)
NEW YORK, Aug. 14.

Previous Closing	32.75
Today's Opening	32.70
Difference	—05
Today's Closing	33.05
Difference	+31

NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE
NEW YORK, Aug. 14

Stock Exchange Opening prices.

Anaconda Copper Mining	35-1/4
General Motors	58-3/4
United States Steel Common	71-1/4
United States Steel Preference	145

LATEST QUOTATIONS
BOMBAY, Aug. 14.

Cotton Sept.	431 8
Silver Shrawan	172 11
Gold Forward	108 15
Sovereign	73 0

LATE NEWS

INDONESIA IN DUTCH CABINET

THE HAGUE, August 14, (Reuter): Latest developments in Indonesia are understood to have been discussed at a special meeting of the Netherlands Cabinet here today. The meeting was attended by the members of the Commission-General for Indonesia Prof. Willem Schermerhorn and Mr Max Van Poll.

ARAB-JEW BATTLE RAGES

JERUSALEM, August 14, (Reuter): An Arab source in Jaffa said tonight that a "battle" was raging between Arabs and Jews at Salama on the borders of Jaffa and Telaviv. "Considerable forces" were involved on both sides with sporadic shooting going on.

NAGPUR MINISTER RESIGNS

NAGPUR, August 14, (A.P.I.): Dr. S. M. Hasan, Minister for Health, has resigned today. The resignation was placed in the hands of Premier, Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla, who has accepted Dr. Hasan's resignation.

WASHINGTON, August 14, (Reuter): India's day of independence should go down as perhaps the greatest in the annals of Great Britain, Mr. Asaf Ali the Indian Ambassador, said at a flag-raising ceremony at the Indian Embassy here today.

CONSEMBLY MEMBERS TAKE PLEDGE OF DEDICATION

NEW DELHI, Aug. 15. (A.P.I.): The Constituent Assembly held an hour and quarter session to-night at which it passed Pt. Nehru's resolution prescribing the oath. All the members took the oath as prescribed in the resolution after which Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pt. Nehru left for the Viceroy's House.

As the clock chimed 12, conches blew and thunderous applause and cries of "Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai" greeted the birth of freedom. Many members in the House were visibly moved.

Pt. Neharu's resolution which was seconded by Chaudhri Khaliq-uz-Zaman, leader of the Muslim League Party, expressed the earnest hope that the era of slogans ended and all worked for the peace and prosperity of India. The resolution which was supported by Dr. Radhakrishnan was carried unanimously and amid great acclamation.

The following is the text of the resolution:—

(1) After the last stroke of midnight, all members of the Constituent Assembly, present on this occasion, do take the following pledge:—

"At this solemn moment when the people of India, through suffering and sacrifice, have secured freedom, I.... a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, do dedicate myself in all humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain her rightful place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind."

(2) Members who are not present on this occasion do take the pledge (with such verbal changes as the President may prescribe) at the time they next attend a session of the Assembly.

LEAGUERS SHUN "VANDE MATARAM".

The Muslim League Party in the Coustituent Assembly at its meeting to-day decided to attend the Assembly after the programme of singing "Vande Matram" was gone through.

This is the first item on the agenda for to-night's meeting.

The Advent of Freedom
HERALDS A BRILLIANT RECORD
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FIRE & GENERAL INSURANCE, LTD.
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IN THE FOURTH YEAR OF ITS WORKING
Chairman: SETH RAMKRISHNA DALMIA

AUTHORISED CAPITAL	Rs.	5,00,00,000
SUBSCRIBED CAPITAL	Rs.	2,01,00,000
PAID UP CAPITAL	Rs.	47,52,000

RESULTS OF THE FOURTH YEAR'S WORKING ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1946.

TOTAL ASSETS EXCEED	Rs.	70,28,534
TOTAL NET PREMIUMS (after deducting reinsurances)	Rs.	12,94,663
Total Reserves	Rs.	12,52,186
NET PROFIT	Rs.	2,37,847

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General Manager

INDIA IS FREE !
Celebrate this with a "FREE INDIA" Policy now!
DEAREST SOULS MAY DEPART...
YOUR HOUSE MAY CATCH FIRE
YOUR CAR MAY MEET WITH AN ACCIDENT..
...BUT THE FREE INDIA GENERAL POLICY SHALL NEVER FAIL
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A THOUGHT FOR THE DAY

With the end of slavery and the dawn of Independence, all the weaknesses of society are bound to come to the surface. I do not see any reason to be unnecessarily upset by it. If we keep our balance at such a time, every tangle will be solved.

—Mahatma Gandhi.

The Bombay Chronicle

JAI HIND

Freedom at last! India, this ancient, beloved land of ours released after hundred and fifty years of the agony and humiliation of slavery, is free today. Our national flag, the flag of India's rebirth and independence, is flying proudly from every eminence in this country. Today it is seen flying on land and sea all the world over a symbol and an announcement of India's freedom. For, the 15th of August is an event of importance to the world. India today enters upon the scene a nation with the heritage of a civilisation which is the need of the world. It brings a message of hope and the promise of a great contribution to the peace and progress of mankind in happiness and prosperity. That national flag of ours is another symbol and announcement too. It is the symbol and an announcement of the end of imperialism—the evil that had eaten into the very vitals of two-thirds of the human race. The independence of India represents the hope and the assurance that the deliverance of the other peoples of Asia and Africa is not far off.

Here in India the welkin rings of the full-throated cries of joyful people. But let us not forget those to whom we owe our freedom and irredeemable debt of gratitude. In the struggle which India wrought to win her liberty, millions have borne the brunt of self-invited suffering, paying gladly the price that freedom demands of its votaries. Hundreds and thousands have even given their lives to it. Those glorious martyrs will live in the hearts of free Indians in sorrow but more in pride. Tribute is due to the living also but to none more so than to Mahatma Gandhi, the father of our nationalism and the architect of our freedom. Words cannot define the extent of his contribution or the magnitude of the debt that the country and its people owe to one who has [illegible] one of the most glorious [illegible]rs in India's history. The [illegible] can only render homage to him in humility and pride. But is it realised where he is today and why? Transfer of power is taking place in Delhi amidst all the pomp and circumstance of the historic and festive occasion. Mahatma Gandhi is living in the shambles of Calcutta amidst a raging fire that is consuming not only houses and bodies but hearts and souls. Why is he not in Delhi? There is undoubtely magic in freedom. But while feeling the glow of the blessing that has come and while naturally being tempted to get lost in emotional ecstasy on this happy occasion, it yet behoves us to do some sober thinking and some deep searching of the heart. It behoves us to ponder the question why Mahatma Gandhi is not in Delhi. Our independence is born in a tragedy too—the tragedy of division and bloodshed. The past is still with us in acts and in hearts. There is no peace. Brother betrays brother and the nation is cut in two. Nor is this all. A nation is otherwise torn in internal disruption which is threatening to paralyse even its maimed existence. It has to be saved from self-destruction. It has to be made one again. How can it be done and who can do it? There is only one answer and that answer is Gandhi. The nation has to go back to Gandhi if it is to live worthy of its great past.

There was a time when India with its civilisation was the glory of the world. The India of today is the inheritor of that glory. It cannot honour that inheritance except by renewing its allegiance to Mahatma Gandhi in letter and in spirit. It is in that spirit that every Indian must take the oath of dedicated service to the country which was taken by the members of the Constituent Assembly today.

'At this solemn moment when the people of India, by their suffering and sacrifice, have secured freedom and become masters of their own destiny, I, a member of the Constituent Assembly of India, do dedicate myself to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain its rightful and honoured place in the world and make its full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.'

JAI HIND!

Momentous Declarations

The Pakistan Constituent Assembly could not have started upon its labours under happier auspices. The first day's proceedings will, we are certain, cause widespread gratification and pleasure. The outstanding feature of the day was the Presidential speech of Mr. M. A. Jinnah, which deserves to be heartily welcomed by all Indians. For, it was a statesmanlike pronouncement which may well prove historic as a turning point in the politics of the country the first beginning of a bright future for the whole of India, a beginning leading eventually to the consummation of something which every Indian longs for. Mr. Jinnah gave a pledge to the minorities in terms which are not only solemnly reassuring but which also constitute a categorical declaration that the new State of Pakistan will be strictly secular and free from any discrimination on the basis of creed or caste. Mr. Jinnah went further and publicly declared that "..in course of time, Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims, not in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of each individual, but in the political sense as the citizens of the nation." Against the background of grievous political controversies which have racked and torn India during the last ten years or so, the implications of this declaration for the future cannot be overemphasised. Every word of Mr. Jinnah's declaration quoted above is momentous and must be hailed by all.

The gesture of the Muslim League is not one-sided either. The attitude of the representative leaders of the minorities is no less marked by the spirit of co-operation and goodwill. It is as valuable, as the attitude of the majority leaders, if not more. For, it constitutes an attitude of trust and confidence on the part of the minorities without waiting and without hesitation. The short debate on the subject of the flag and Mr. Kiran Shankar Roy's ready acceptance of Mr. Liaquat Ali's assurance and of the decision of the majority is a significant proof of the responsiveness, patriotism and bonafides of the minorities which, we confidently hope, will be fully appreciated by the leaders of the majority.

The attitude of the leaders of Pakistan is bound to react favourably in the Indian Union. In fact there has already been a prompt response to it from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel whose title to speak on behalf of India is without question. He has welcomed Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's statement that the minorities in Pakistan would be protected and has assured that "such a generous move could not but evoke reciprocity here in India". Sardar Vallabhbhai has further given the assurance that "India harboured no ill will against Pakistan and would, in fact, do all in her power to help the new state." We are sure this authoritative assurance on behalf of India will be as fully appreciated in Pakistan as the assurance on behalf of Pakistan has been welcomed and appreciated in India. The proceedings in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and Sardar Vallabhbhai's reiterated emphasis on the policy to which Congress and India are pledged should together remove bitterness, suspicions and apprehensions, and stop unwholesome controversies and activities to which the entire country is a prey. The leaders of India and Pakistan de[illegible] uttermost loyal support of the people in their task of creating an atmosphere of mutual co-operation, goodwill and friendliness. A splendid beginning has been made and we earnestly hope it leads India to the destiny which is the dearest wish of every true patriot.

Our Freedom Supplement

We extremely regret that, owing to an unfortunate strike of workers in the "Bombay Chronicle" Press which lasted for two days and ended on Thursday evening, we have been compelled to reduce the size of our Freedom Supplement as a number of articles and messages could not be set up for inclusion in the "Supplement." We apologise to our valued contributors whose articles and messages could not be included in today's Supplement. These articles and messages will be included in another Supplement which will be published along with next Wednesday's issue of the "Chronicle."

Frankly Speaking

Racialism Run Amuck

The "New Statesman and Nation", the well-known British left-wing weekly, published some time ago a short but illuminating article by Mr. Colin Legum on the organised boycott of Indian traders by whites in South Africa. The boycott was originally started as a measure of reprisal against the action of the Government of India placing an embargo on exports to South Africa—chiefly jute bags. Since then the boycott has moved away from its original objectives. The present objective, defined with perfect clarity and stated with unashamed frankness, is the elimination of the Indians from the economic life of South Africa and consequent repatriation to India. Mr. Legum quotes a number of speakers expressing this opinion. Mr. Oswald Pirow, K.C., leader of the "National-Socialist New Order", announced: "The Indian must know that his attitude has made only one solution possible for this problem: Return to India. That is why the Europeans have decided to make return as easy as possible by making his stay here as unpleasant as possible." But this move is represented not just as an economic measure. It is a racial measure. At any rate it is made to appear as something not just related to bread and butter. Prof. F. J. Labuschagne is quoted as saying: "The Indian in South Africa remains an integral part of India. He belongs to a great religious and cultural group and it is in this fact that the greatest danger exists." Intense religious feeling is whipped up and ministers of the church refer to it as "a sacred Christian crusade against the threat of Mahomedanism and Hinduism which threatens to engulf us." One of the policy makers in this matter is Prof. Cronje, the author of a book with the sinister title "Africa without the Asiatics."

The Nazis Are Here

While such are the avowed objectives of the boycott movement, the parties associated with it and its methods are something to match the objects. The original sponsor of the movement, the Transvaal Agricultural Union, is no longer at the head of the movement. University professors, businessmen and political leaders linked with the Nationalist Party, Ossewabrandwag and the New Order are now in full control. Mr. Legum asserts that "the boycott is merely a smokescreen for the political machinations of the promoters of racial discord in South Africa." The movement has a national headquarters with a paid staff, printed pamphlets, weekly newspapers and corps of trained propagandists. The manner in which anti-boycotters are dealt with makes nauseating reading. They have to face not only social boycott and economic discrimination but also rough handling. Even Indians and natives buying in Indians shops are not spared. It seems the Nazis have not been finished. They were only beaten in Germany. In 'democratic' Africa, a Dominion of the much-boosted Commonwealth of Nations, they are still alive and kicking.

Disturbers Of Peace

While everybody in Bombay, as elsewhere, is busy making preparations for the celebrations of August 15, there have occured in the city, during the last few days, some unfortunate incidents disturbing the public peace. All parties in the Indian Union, with the exception of the Hindu Mahasabha, the Forward Bloc and a few disgruntled and isolated individuals are joining in the celebrations. Even among these, it is only the Hindu Mahasabha that has announced any plans for some form of counter-demonstrations. To meet this situation the Government of Bombay has issued orders banning all meetings and processions on August 15, 16 and 17, with all flags other than the National flag. Truly speaking this ban is designed to save the would-be demonstrators from the possible consequences of their own freakish persistence. That apart, one can both understand and tolerate any individual or party from expressing any views, he or it chooses, however wrong or perverse they may be. The same toleration cannot be extended even to the remotest attempts at acts of hooliganism. We do not think that any responsible political party is or could support such acts. But the perpetrators of such acts may conceivably feel that they are promoting the policy of certain parties.

Timely Warning

Such acts, however, are to be doubly deplored now, because the Government has, with great courage, relaxed many of the restraints which had been an unfortunate feature of public life in recent months. Both the Government and the people are eager to go back to conditions of perfect peace and normal freedom. Therefore, any acts, which may have the effect of hampering or delaying the return to peace, will be greatly resented. The Bombay Government has issued a stern warning, expressing its firm determination to deal ruthlessly with persons, committing, inciting or encouraging anti-social acts. In this determination it can safely rely on the fullest public support. Therefore, the mischief-makers would be well advised to desist from their evil designs, in their own interests, even if they will not listen to appeals addressed to them in the name of public interest.

B. P. C. C.'s Elaborate Programme For Independence Day

Flag Salutations, Mass Meetings, Processions, Parade: Fireworks At Chaupatty And Shivaji Park

The following programme has been arranged by the B.P.C.C. for today:

0-5 A.M.—(15th Aug.): National Flag (electrically lit) to be displayed on the Secretariat, Congress House, Gateway of India, the Taj and other important places. Illuminations also to start from this hour.

6 A.M.—Prabhat Pheries with musical instruments carrying the National Flag to move through the important streets of the city.

7 A.M.—Hoisting the National Flag on houses and residential premises.

8 A.M.—Public Flag Salutation: Main functions at Gowalia Tank Maidan for the South of Bombay and at Kamgar Maidan for the North of Bombay.

8-15 A.M.—Reading of the Independence Pledge after the Flag Salutation Ceremony.

9 A.M.—Unfurling of the National Flag at the main Municipal Bldg. (Bori Bunder) by His Worship the Mayor of Bombay; Also Flag Salutation of other public institutions at their own premises.

9-30 A.M.—Public Garlanding of the statues of National Heroes including Dadabhoy Naoroji, Lokmanya B. G. Tilak, Sir Pherozshah Mehta, Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Mr Jamshedji N. Tata Mr. Jagannath Shanker Sett, Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade and others.

10-35 A.M.—Salvo of Gun-fire.

12 Noon—Two minutes' silence in honour of the martyrs of freedom. All traffic to be at a stand-still during that period.

2-30 P.M.—Independence Procession for the South of Bombay to assemble at Gowalia Tank Maidan.

3 P.M.—The Procession on march by the following route:—Gowalia Tank Road—Nana's Chowk—Kennedy Bridge—Sandhurst Road—V. J. Patel Road—C. P. Tank and Bhuleshwar—Bambakhana—Kalbadevi Road—Dhobi Talao—Mahatma Gandhi Road—Flora Fountain—Churchgate Street—Mavo Road and Oval.

3 P.M.—Independence Procession for the North of Bombay to assemble at Nare Park (Parel).

3-30 P.M.—The North of Bombay Procession on march by the following route:—Nare Park—Govt. Gate Road—Lal Baug Corner—Parel Road—Elphinstone Bridge Dhan Mill Corner—Gokhale Road South—Portuguese Church—Dadar Road—Ranade Road—Lady Jamshedji Road and Shivaji Park.

5-30 P.M.—The South of Bombay Procession would terminate at the Oval Maidan, opposite Secretariat.

6 P.M.—Main function at the Oval Maidan: Saluting the National Flag, Troops Parade, etc.

6 P.M.—The North of Bombay Procession would terminate at Shivaji Park.

6-30 P.M.—Mass Public Meeting at Shivaji Park; Saluting the National Flag, Taking the Independence Pledge and short speeches by Leaders.

9 P.M.—Fireworks from Chaupaty and Shivaji Park.

CELEBRATIONS IN NORTH

The following is the programme of public functions specially arranged for the convenience of the residents of the North of Bombay:—

8 A.M.—Flag Salutation at Kamgar Maidan, Shri M. Y. Nurie, Vice-President of the B.P.C.C. will unfurl the National Flag and administer the Independence Pledge, Shri L. M. Patil, Minister, will address the meeting.

3 P.M.—Independence Procession to assemble at Nare Park and march towards Shivaji Park.

3-30 P.M.—The procession which will be led by His Worship the Mayor on march by the following route: Nare Park, Government Gate Road, Lal Baug Corner, Parel Road, Elphinstone Bridge Dhan Mill Corner, Gokhale Road South, Portuguese Church Dadar Road, Ranade Road, Lady Jamshedji Road and Shivaji Park.

6 P.M.—The Procession will terminate at Shivaji Park.

6-30 P.M.—Mass Meeting at Shivaji Park at which Shri S. K. Patil, President, B.P.C.C. will preside. After saluting the National Flag and taking the Independence Pledge, the following laders will address the meeting:

The Mayor of Bombay, Lady Rama Rao, Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, Shri Ratilal M. Gandhi, Dr. Alban D'Souza Shri M. Y. Nurie and Shri S. S. Mirajkar.

9 P.M.—Fireworks from Shivaji Park.

A.I.R. PROGRAMME

The A.I.R. has arranged the following programme for the Independence Day:—

There will be a special transmission in the morning of August 15 from 6-30 to 10-30 a.m. At 6-50 a.m. excerpts from Mahatma Gandhi's prayer meeting addresses, recorded earlier, will be broadcast.

In the Second and Third Transmissions there will be a number of broadcasts in English by outstanding personalities on the significance of the historic occasion. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly will broadcast at 1-40 p.m. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu and Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru from 8-30 to 9 p.m. and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, at 9-40 p.m. On the following day, at 8-30 p.m. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel will broadcast a talk in Hindustani. All A.I.R. stations will relay these broadcasts.

Sardar Baldev Singh will broadcast in the Troops Programme on shortwave (41-15 metres) at 7-35 p.m.)

In the Women's Programme from 4-30 to 5 p.m. messages in Hindustani will be broadcast by Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, Mrs. Sucheta Kripalani, Begam Aizaz Rasul, Smt. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya and Mrs. Lilavati Munshi. In the Rural Programme, Mr. Khurshid Ahmed Khan, Chief Commissioner of Delhi, will broadcast at 7-30 p.m.

MUSIC AND POEMS

Music on this day will be provided by some of the best loved voices of the land. Pt. Omkar Nath Thakur will open the morning transmission at 6-30 a.m. with Vande Mataram and later, the same evening, between 9-40 and 10-30 p.m. he will give a recital of classical music. Other prominent artists who will be heard on this day are Hira Bai Barodekar, Ustad Bundu Khan, Juthika Roy and Nandita Kripalani.

Between 8 and 8-25 p.m. specially composed poems by Maithli Sharan Gupta, Hafeez Jullundhri, Balkrishan Sharma 'Navin', 'Dinkar' and Josh Malihabadi will be on the air.

MIXED CHORUS

At 6-45 p.m. following the Flag Hoisting ceremony AIR's Mixed Chorus will sing some of the popular national songs.

A feature programme—"Free India"—devised and produced by Aubrey Menen will be broadcast at 10-30 p.m.

On the 16th, in addition to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's broadcast at 8-30 p.m. there will be a running commentary on the Flag Hoisting ceremony at the Red Fort from 8-30 to 9-30 a.m.

Andheri Programme

(From Our Correspondent.)

ANDHERI, Aug. 13.

At 6 a.m. today "Prabhat Pheries" will move about in the town and assemble at Guzder Hall where Mr. Valkuntlal Mehta, the Finance Minister, will hoist the National Flag. From there the audience will march to the Mamlatdar's office on which the National Flag will be hoisted. At 10 a.m. there will be a public meeting at Hansraj Morarji Public School which will be addressed among others, by Mr. Jaiprakash Narain. In the afternoon, sweets will be distributed to school children and Harijans will be given light refreshments. At night, the principal buildings and markets will be illuminated.

School, Waudby Rd. Mr. Morarji Desai to preside.

ADI ANDHRA SOCIAL SERVICE ASSOCIATION: Public meeting at Mahalaxmi Temple area in Darpanelwadi Hall 6 p.m. Flag hoisting by N.C.N. Acharya.

SIR ELLY KADOORIE SCHOOL: Dr. Miss J. Jherad will Hoist National Flag. Sweets and badges distribution to children.

VICHAR VIKAS MANDAL, PAREL: Flag Hoisting by Dr. R. G. Dhayagude, Dean of G. S. Medical College 7-15 a.m.

ASSOCIATION OF INDIAN INDUSTRIES: Tea party 4 p.m. at Taj. Minister Tapase to be Chief Guest.

BOMBAY TAXI-DRIVERS' UNION: Flag Hoisting on Union office 8 a.m.

WOMEN'S PRABHAT PHERI: At Matunga 6 a.m.

MUSLIM SOCIAL WORKERS' GROUP: At the Group Hall at 5-30 p.m. Social Gathering.

B. P. RASHTRA BHASHA PRACHAR SABHA: Students must be present at Fellowship School 3 p.m. to-day to join B.P.C.C. Procession: To-morrow, 4-30 p.m. meeting at same place.

JUHU TARA CONGRESS: Flag Salulation 8 a.m. at Gandhi Chowk—Koliwada, Juhu, by Dr. D. M. Desai.

A. WARD CONGRESS: 'Prabhat Pheri' 6 a.m.

MARWADI SAMMELAN: Flag Salutation 9 a.m. Vidyabhuvan, 2nd Phanaswadi by Jai Prakash Narain.

INDIAN MERCHANTS' CHAMBER: Flag Salutation 10 a.m. by Mr. R. M. Gandhi, President.

MUSLIM WELFARE UNION: Gathering 9 a.m. Madeni Bldg. near Slaughter House, Bazar Rd. Mr. Ibrahim Habib to preside.

IRANIAN RESIDENTS: Meeting at Jiwanji Modi Hall, (Cama Hall) Museum 9 a.m. Mr. Dinshaw Behram Irani presiding.

Independence Bonus

Following have declared Independence bonus to employees:—

EXCHANGE BANK OF INDIA & AFRICA: Half month's salary.

UNION LIFE ASSURANCE: Half month's salary.

BOMBAY YARN EXCHANGE: One month's salary.

TODAY'S FLAG SALUTATIONS AND OTHER FUNCTIONS IN GREATER BOMBAY

The following Flag Salutation and other functions will be held today:—

HINDUSTANI MERCHANTS AND COMMISSION AGENTS' ASSOCIATION, BOMBAY: Marwadi Commercial High School at 10-15 a.m. Flag hoisting by Mr. Vaikunth Lal Mehta.

BOMBAY ANDHRA MAHASABHA: At the Mahasabha premises at 9 a.m. by Sri M. S. M. Y. Shastri.

THE KANARA SARASWAT ASSOCIATION: 8-30 a.m. in the D. N. Sirur Square.

EAST INDIA COTTON ASSOCIATION: (i) On the terrace of the Cotton Exchange, Marwari Bazar at 11 a.m. by Mr. V. L. Mehta.

On the terrace of the Cotton Green Buildings at Sewri at 1 p.m. by Mr. Morarji Desai.

Mysore Association, Bombay; at the Association at 10 a.m.

National Congress—Goa, Bombay at Cross Maidan near Metro Cinema at 10 a.m.

Hindustan Mazdoor Sevak Sangh: at Dhobi Talao (Trinity Street) by Shri S. L. Silam.

MALAD TALUKA CONGRESS COMITTEE: Flag Hoisting at 8 a.m. 6 a.m. Prabhat Pheri.

SRI MANGROL MANSION SEVA SAMAJ: At 9 a.m. at Mangrol Mansion, Gunbow Street (Fort) by Mr. Manilal Doshi.

PROVINCIAL CO-OPERATIVE INSTITUTE, BOMBAY: At Sir Vithaldas Thackersey Memorial Building, 9, Backhouse Lane, Fort, at 11-50 a.m. by Mr. V. L. Mehta.

SHRI MAHAJAN ASSOCIATION LTD: In the hall of the Association at 9 a.m. by Mr. Venilal N. Patwa.

LOHARCHAWL YUVAK MANDAL: At 116, Loharchawl at 10 a.m. by Shri Nurie.

OIL MERCHANTS CHAMBER: At the Chamber's premises (285-87, Narsi Natha St., Bombay 9) at 11-30 a.m. by Seth Dawood Hajee Nusser.

GRAIN AND OILSEEDS MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION: At 9-30 a.m. by Seth Velji Lakhamsey at the Chamber's premises.

KALYAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE: At Shivaji Chowk at 8 a.m. by R. M. Patwardhan.

KALYAN BOROUGH MUNICIPALITY: At 9-30 a.m. on the Municipal Building.

BENGAL CLUB, PAREL: At 7-30 a.m. at its premises.

DUBASH LANE YOUTH LEAGUE: At 6-30 a.m. by Prof. Dharpure.

GHATKOPAR KIROL MUNICIPALITY: At 8 a.m. at the Congress Chawani by Mr. Dinkarrao Desai.

BOY SCOUTS ASSOCIATION: At the Scouts Headquarters at 9 a.m. by Mr. A.A.A. Fyzee.

NATIONAL CONGRESS (GOA), BOMBAY BRANCH: At 8 a.m. at Gowalia Tank Maidan.

SHIVAJI PARK INDEPENDENCE COMMITTEE: At 8 a.m. by Mr. K. F. Nariman.

INDIAN YOUTH ASSOCIATION, MALAD: At 8 a.m. Seth N. L. High School

CHAMBER OF INCOME TAX CONSULTANTS: Sunbeam Chamber, 7, New Marine Lines; at the premises of the Chamber at 3 p.m. by the President.

PAPER TRADERS' ASSOCIATION: 54, SUTAR CHAWL, BOMBAY: At 10-30 a.m.

DADAR SARWAJANIK VACHANALAYA: At 8-30 a.m.

VANITA VISHRAM SANDHURST ROAD: At 11-30 a.m. in the Vanita Vishram garden by Mr. Dinkarrao Desai.

MAZDAZNAN: At Alexandra Girls' School Waudby Rd., thanksgiving prayers by Dasturji Bode 8-30 a.m. National Flag hoisting.

SOUTH KANARA HEALTH LEAGUE: 8 a.m. Flag hoisting by Prof. N. Sheshappa.

BOMBAY SECONDARY TEACHERS' ASSOCIATION: Celebrations 9-30 a.m. at Bharda New High

"DAY OF DELIVERANCE" FROM FOREIGN YOKE

Mahatma To Fast On Independence Day

CALCUTTA, August 14 (A.P.I.): Tomorrow was the appointed day of deliverance from foreign yoke, and it was, therefore, great day which they were bound to celebrate, said Mahatma Gandhi, addressing his prayer meeting this evening. It was the day when both the Dominions were to shoulder their heavy burdens. He invited everyone to have a 24-hour fast and prayer that day for the well being of India, and pass it spinning as much as possible.

HOW MAHATMA WILL SPEND INDEPENDENCE DAY

In observance of Independence Day tomorrow, Mahatma Gandhi will undertake a 24-hour fast. He will spend the whole day in spinning and holding special prayer.

Messrs. H. S. Suhrawardy, the retiring Premier of Bengal, and M. S. M. Osman, ex-Mayor of Calcutta and Secretary of the Calcutta District Muslim League, will fast with Mahatmaji.

"Independence Day" On Radio

All-India Radio, Bombay have planned special programmes for the 15th, 16th and 17th August. On the 15th the transmission will be extended beyond the usual timings and the programmes will commence at 6-30 a.m. with 'Vande Mataram'. The programmes include messages from eminent leaders of free India. Special items comprise national songs by well-known poets in Marathi, Gujarati, Kannada and Hindustani, music concerts by outstanding classical musicians and film stars, relays from Delhi of eye-witness accounts, commentaries and features.

PRESENTATION OF COLOURS

The Government of Bombay invites the public to witness the presentation of colours to the Home Guards at the Brabourne Stadium at 9-30 a.m. on Friday, and the Independence Day Parade at the Oval at 6 p.m. the same day.

KANARA SARASWAT ASSOCIATION: To-day, Friday 0101 a.m. Flag hoisting ceremony on the Talmakiwadi Gate. 7-00 a.m. Procession led by Prabhat Pheri from Gamdevi after the Flag Salutation to Anandashram, Proctor Road. 7-30 a.m. Departure from Anandashram after Flag Salutation for Talmakiwadi. 8-00 a.m. President's Speech. 8-40 a.m. Speech by the President of the Mahila Samaj. 8-45 a.m. Procession to Shankershet Temple.

Celebrations In Madanpura

The Madanpura Jashn Committee has prepared an elaborate programme of 5-day Independence celebration. The programme began with the hauling down of the Union Jack and the unfurling of the National Flag at 12 midnight last. The National Flag was unfurled by Mr. S. A. Brelvi.

CELEBRATIONS ABANDONED

SIMLA, Aug. 14 (A.P.I.): Celebrations connected with the Independence Day tomorrow have been totally abondoned in Simla owing to the happenings in Lahore and Western Punjab. Only flag hoisting ceremony will be performed. Indications are that Simla's lead will be followed by other districts of East Punjab.

TETE-A-TETE

WITHOUT COMMENT

"Legal opinion will be sought whether or not agreements of leases between the British Government and Kalat will be inherited by the Pakistan Government".

—Agreement between the Crown Representative, the Khan of Kalat and Mr. Jinnah.

* * *

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel welcomes Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan's assurance that minorities in Pakistan would be protected and adds that such a generous move by the League could not but evoke reciprocity here in India.

This is a challenge which the Hindu Mahasabha cannot and must not take lying down. There must instantly be launched an India-wide campaign of Direct Action against the Central Government on the basis of a six-point demand one of them requiring the immediate removal from the post of House Member of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

* * *

Addressing the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, the President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, observed that "in course of time, Hindus will cease to be Hindus and Muslims will cease to be Muslims not, in the religious sense, because that is the personal faith of every individual, but in the political sense as the citizens of the nation".

Therefore, in course of time there will cease to be a difference between the Indian nation and the Pakistan nation and between India and Pakistan. Amen.

* * *

Congratulating Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan testified that "as one constantly associated with you for over 11 years, I can say with truthfulness and honesty, that the creation of this State of Pakistan is mainly, if not entirely, due to your service".

The whole world has long been convinced of this truth.

* * *

At a conference held the other day Malayalees in Bombay demanded the abolition of the "Dewan Raj" in Travancore.

But where IS the Dewan?

By the way, the Junior Colleague is greatly concerned, "What", he has been persistently asking, "has happened to Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar?" He has been hearing reports that Sir C. P. had resigned, that he had left Travancore, that he had been replaced by some one else and so on. We couldn't obviously confirm these reports and naturally asked the youngster to shut up.

But he wouldn't, and we started wondering at his persistance.

After some effort, we have now discovered the reason. The boy is suffering from a sort of nostalgia. He has been keenly missing Sir C P's twice-a-day statement.

And so have we.

* * *

But we have vetoed the Junior Colleague's proposal that all his Junior confreres should, in a solemn conference assembled, record a vote of thanks to the Dewan of Travancore for his valuable contributions to their gaiety.

It's premature. Not yet. We still have hopes.

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Readers should enjoy "I'VE SHED MY TEARS" which is the most circumspect book Mr. Karaka has yet produced: from the literary aspect it deserves praise....."—ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA.

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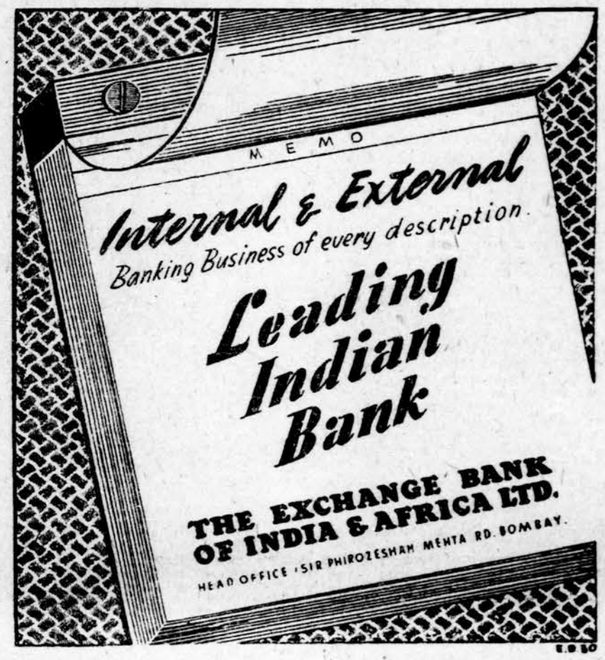
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BOMBAY.

SHARE BAZAR

BOMBAY, Aug. 14.

The Bombay Stock Exchange was quietly steady today with restricted business. The market was open for one hour and it will reopen on Tuesday. Tata Steel Dfds. opened at Rs. 1915 and after advancing at Rs. 1925, quietened at Rs. 1905. After the close Dfds. were placed at Rs. 1920. The market was narrow.

CLOSING QUOTATIONS

STEELS

Tata S. Deferred 1905 Tata S. Ordinary 380 Indian Iron 35/7 Bengal Steel 27/14

TEXTILES

B. Dyeing 1026/4 Central India 301 Finlay 291 Gokak 312/8 Kohinoor 562 New Great 369 Simplex 333 Swadeshi 590 Swan 339 Edward 697/8 Ind. U. Defd. 2/13 Ind. U. Ord. 15/8 Indore 620 Khatau 295 Meyer 232/8 Podar 320

ELECTRICS

Andhra 1625 Tata Power 1710 Tata Hydro 172 Tram 119.

BANKS & INSURANCE

Baroda 165 Central 97/8 Imperial Old 2200 Imperial New 546/4 India 232 Reserve 116/8 Union 10/10 United Commercial 74/8 Jupiter Ins. 31 New India 77

MISCELLANEOUS

Associated Cement 161/8 Alcock 661 Belapur 258 Burma Old 462/8 Burma New 160 B. Petrol 3/8 B. Steamer 570 P. Construction 190 Scindia 31 Tata Oil 69 Tata Chemical 13/6 Wimco 2%/3 Bleaching 156

GOLD AND SILVER

BOMBAY, Aug. 14.

The market was quietly steady with moderate business passing and fluctuations were narrow. There was absence of any fresh developments. Forward Silver opened at Rs. 174/2 and after declining at Rs. 173/14 steadied at Rs. 174. Ready was quoted at Rs. 176/6. Gold was quoted at Rs. 109/4 and sovereigns stood at Rs. 73.

PRODUCE MARKET

BOMBAY, Aug. 14.

The produce market was very steady. Castorseeds, September were quoted at Rs. 158, May opened at Rs. 132/6 and advanced at Rs. 133 ready was Rs. 33/4 and Cawnpore Bold Rs. 31/4, Castor-oil first pressing Rs. 22, Commercial quality Rs. 20/8. Linseed August Rs. 30/11 and September/October Rs. 30/9, Groundnuts Khandesh quality Rs. 24/12 and Bold as well as Coromandal stood at Rs. 33/12.

BOMBAY COTTON

BOMBAY, Aug. 14.

The weak tone continued in the market and as expected September delivery reached the floor level and trading had to be suspended.

So far the Board has not taken any decision about trading in crop months. The market opened at Rs. 430 for September and later on there was buyer.

WE

extend our hearty congratulations to our countrymen on this historic occasion of INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE and reiterate our assurance of service and assistance to all Industrial & Commercial enterprises of

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Sir PADAMPAT SINGHANIA. KT.

Managing Director
KISHEN CHAND PURI. B.A.F.I.B. (Lond.) M.L.A.

Secretary M. L. GUPTA, M. A. B.Com. A. S. A., A.R.A.

Manager:
SANTOKH SINGH B.A.(Hons.) C.A.I.I.B.

The Hindustan Commercial Bank, Limited.
H.O. CAWNPORE

KARACHI, A CITY OF COLOUR

Jinnah To Be Sworn In At 9 a.m. Today

KARACHI, Aug. 14 (API). On the eve of the birth of Pakistan, Karachi has become the city of colour and gaiety. The highlights of the day were the Viceregal visit to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and the State drive of Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Mountbatten and Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah.

The entire city has been bedecked with the Pakistan National Flags while specially prepared large-size flags are flying over the Secretariat and the Chief Court building.

AMNESTY TO PRISONERS

An elaborate programme, drawn up by the Citizens' Committee, includes illuminations, fireworks, feeding and free distribution of cloth to the poor, and sweets and free cinema shows to school children. Prisoners have been granted either amnesty or reduction in their terms of imprisonment and the death sentence has been commuted to life imprisonment in most cases.

The formal function of the swearing-in ceremony of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah as the Governor-General of Pakistan will be held at Government House at 9 a.m. tomorrow. The Governor-General will then administer the oath of office to the Prime Minister Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and his Cabinet colleagues.

A Royal Salute of 31 guns will be fired when Mr. Ghulam Husain Hidayatulla will be sworn as the Governor of Sind, who in turn will administer the oath of office to Khan Bahadur M. A. Khuhro and his colleagues.

Sir Iven Mackay's Message

The High Commissioner for the Commonwealth of Australia, Lieut.-General Sir Iven Mackay in his message says:—

On this great day of August 15th as the Australian representative here, I should like to convey to the people of the Dominions of India and Pakistan a message of greeting and goodwill from all Australians in India.

We wish in particular that your new-found freedom may result in the continued happiness of your people and especially in an uplift of their living standards.

On This Day

By D. F. KARAKA

Today in India a new nation is born which will take its place among the free peoples of the world. The struggle has ended. The tricolour of saffron, white and green which was once the flag of resistance is now the flag of the people. It has been hoisted where only the Union Jack once flew.

The predominant feeling in India today is that we are free, for to many, freedom has only meant freedom from the British. To the common man it means that the British overlord who once stood with a tommy-gun in his hand, will no longer be there to hold him down.

But in the larger sense of the word we are not yet free. There is still the shadow of poverty hanging over the great masses of our people. There is still an abundance of squalor, dirt and overcrowded living, which has haunted our people for many generations. There is the threat of another famine.

There are blackmarketeers among us, opportunists in political circles, and black-legs everywhere. So long as these thrive in a country, its people cannot be really free.

Therefore, let us not believe that the revolution in India is over today. Only a phase of it has ended. The fight in India will henceforth be directed against those Indian elements within our country who have so often tried to assert themselves against the interests of the common man, his health, his wealth and his small acre of happiness.

These elements, reactionary and unprogressive, are the targets of the future. Someday these too shall be destroyed till we have a country and a people worthy of all that is best and uplifting in our new flag.

Vande Mataram!
Jai Hind!

Poona Races.

SELECTIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE DAY RACE MEETING

Find Out For Independence Cup; Maduri And Brilliant Sunshine Possess Rosy Chances

(By Our Racing Correspondent)

Good-sized fields have been accepted for the Independence Day programme and a record gathering is expected on the jubilant occasion.

Trainer Moosa's charge, Find Out is in splendid form and I would not be surprised if the speedy filly trots home in the Independence Cup race.

Maduri and Brilliant Sunshine possess rosy chances in their respective events.

The following are my selections:—

1st Race: 1 Prima Donna, 2 Maharukh.
2nd Race: 1 Lady Cleopatra, 2 Razia.
3rd Race: 1 M & B, 2 Pathan.
4th Race: 1 Kesar Giri, 2 Mah-I-Nau.
5th Race: 1 Truman, 2 The Judge.
6th Race: 1 Find Out, 2 Comet.
7th Race: 1 Maduri, 2 Blue Lotus.
8th Race: 1 Nafiz, 2 Morton Daisy.
9th Race: 1 Brilliant Sunshine, 2 Oormilla.

Choice Treble: Truman, Maduri and Brilliant Sunshine.

Dark Flukes: Jo Hukum and Royal Blessings.

ALLEGED DEFAMATION

Karachi Mayor Sues "Daily Gazette" Editor

(From Our Correspondent.)

KARACHI, Aug 11.

An echo of the Citizens' Address to Quaid-e-Azam Mr. M. A. Jinnah, was heard in the Court of First Additional City Magistrate Mr. Osto when Hakim Mohomed Ahsan, the Mayor of Karachi, filed defamation case against Mr. M. S. M. Sharma, Editor and Mr. N. B. Juvaleker, Printer and Publisher of a local English newspaper the "Daily Gazette". The Court issued bailable warrants against both the accused for Rs. 500 each.

The case arose over an incident in the meeting of the Citizens Committee, formed for Pakistan celebrations, when the proposal to give an address to Mr. Jinnah was moved. The Muslim League Mayor Hakim Ahsan recorded his dissent as he felt that the unanimous address voted by the Karachi Municipal Corporation was sufficient and a separate address by the Citizens' Committee was unnecessary.

A statement purported to have been issued by Mr. M. H. Guzdur, M.L.A., was published in Saturday's issue of the "Daily Gazette" under the heading "Mayor must go." Mr. Guzdur immediately wrote to the Mayor that he never issued that statement nor was he directly or indirectly responsible for its publication.

Thereupon the Mayor filed a defamation case against the editor as well as the publisher of the paper saying that the statement was calculated to give an adverse impression with regard to the character of the complainant and has tendency in it of fostering a belief in the mind of the reader that the complainant was not a fit person to become a Mayor of Karachi.

The Court admitted the complaint and issued bailable warrants against both the accused.

No More Worries

We have plans for you for your peace of mind. Please drop in our office to see our attractive schemes. We aim at service to both our clients and field workers.

THE ARYAN CHAMPION INSURANCE CO. LTD
H.O. 119 Elphinstone Circle Fort Bombay 1.
D. M. KUMTA, Manager. CHAMAN H. PATEL, Mg. Director.
Chief Agents for Bombay Presidency:
M/S UNITED TRADING SYNDICATE
Krishna Building, Bori Bunder, Bombay.

EVOLUTION OF GLASS INDUSTRY : No. 3

TRIUMPHANT MARCH of MAN

Glass Blowing was invented in the Phoenician city of Sidon during the time of Emperor Augustus even before the Christian era. This invention not only marked the turning point in the evolution of the glass industry but, to no mean extent, in the general material progress of mankind as well. Without this TRIUMPHANT MARCH OF MAN over the elemental secrets of Nature he could never have grown to his full stature, for glass is the real foundation of modern science.

With the progress of time the crude process of bygone days has developed slowly but steadfastly to the perfect one and THE SODEPORE GLASS WORKS LTD. have gone on triumphantly with their varieties of glass products serving the taste of time.

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UP FOR THE Races?

Between race days, visit Poona's famous beauty spots in one of our luxurious cars. Drive yourself or we will supply a driver. Either way, the car is entirely yours, to come and go as you please. Terms moderate. Telephone or write for particulars today

MUTT AND JEFF—Oh Well, It's Circus Time Anyway

By BUD FISHER

WAITER! THERE'S A FLY IN MY SOUP!
SH-SHUSH! EVERYBODY WILL WANT ONE!
I SAID A FLY! THERE'S A FLY IN MY SOUP!
OH, THE FIRST ONE OF THE SEASON! CUTE!
LISTEN! I SAID THERE'S A FLY IN MY SOUP!
OH, THAT'S ALL RIGHT! HE WON'T DRINK MUCH!
SPLASH!
WHAT DID HE EXPECT FOR A DIME — ELEPHANTS?

OUR TABULATED ADLETS

2 ANNAS PER WORD.
MINIMUM Rs. 1/8/-.
To be paid in advance.

MATRIMONIAL

Fair, Healthy, Handsome Hindu virgins below 30, view matrimony correspond, Arun Simoga. 6780

SITUATIONS VACANT

Wanted a M.B.B.S. Lady Doctor with missionary spirit of service and experience in obstetrics to work at Kasturba Hospital, Sevagram, C. P. from 1st September, 1947. Free quarters and pay about Rs. 150/- (may be altered according to qualifications and circumstances). Apply immediately to the Secretary of the Hospital. 4820

A vacancy occurs in a large Retail Store in Calcutta for a first Class Tailor's Cutter. London experience, and smart at getting work out. Apply with copies of testimonials to Box No 6739 "Bombay Chronicle".

Wanted a qualified experienced Civil Engineer for the State. Pay Rs. 200-10-250 P.M. Plus Dearness Allowance according to State rules. Free quarters or equivalent house rent. Please apply with testimonials stating age qualifications and experience to President, State Council, Dharampur (Surat District) before 31st August 1947. 4808

Wanted Experienced men in Ford parts and Motor Accessories. Natives of Travancore and Cochin preferable. Apply immediately: Box No. 6735, "Bombay Chronicle."

Wanted good Transfer Printers on decent salary. Apply Famous Cine Litho Works, 40B, Clerk Road, Jacob Circle, Bombay 11. 6776

Wanted Salesmen by large European Firm Minimum qualification Matriculation or an equivalent examination. Age limit 24 to 30. Must furnish cash security of Rs 500/- Starting remuneration Rs. 60/- plus Rs. 15/- D.A (now in force) for 4 weeks. Good prospects for right type of men. Should be prepared to move into mofussil. Apply in own handwriting stating previous experience and sending copies of testimonials if any, to Box No. 4806. "Bombay Chronicle".

Wanted immediately Gents and Ladies Canvasers for hair oils see personally Johns and Co., 24|28, Champagalli, 2nd floor, Bombay 2. 6782

ACCOMMODATION WANTED

Wanted, Two bed room flat furnished or unfurnished, Colaba, Malabar, Comballa Hill locality. Apply Box No. 6778, "Bombay Chronicle".

ACCOMMODATION AVAILABLE

Premises on Richey Road, Ahmedabad. Available ground floor premises suitable for banks, departmental, stores, etc. Approximate floor area 150 sq. yards near Fuvara, in the city of Ahmedabad Additional accommodation for installation of safe vault for banks also available. For further information write to Box No. 6734, "Bombay Chronicle."

Available at Shivaji Park, Two Rooms Block for exchange. Box 6742, "Bombay Chronicle."

EDUCATIONAL ADLETS

Learn Dentistry Within short period. Apply prospectus Dental Training Institute P B. 91. Jamnagar. 6598

MEDICAL ADLETS

Medical Baths in India under expert supervision only by appointment for Nervous diseases, various spastic conditions, Insomnia Lumbago, Rheumatism etc., and reduction of weight. Dr M Henn Sea Green, Marine Drive, Bombay. 6747

Hydrocele expert of K. Edulji's (Calcutta) for last few days at Cyrus Hotel, Room one, Khetwadi Back Road (Charni Road), 2 to 6-30. 200 testimonials including surgeons' cured No confinement unrelapsed 20 years after treatment. 6754

A most powerful highly effective and world renowned remedy for Asthma, "Chitrakot Asthma Relieving Buty", cures Asthma radically by one single dose. Taken on 31-8-47 full moon. Correspondence in English with clean Address. Mahatma Naga Baba Ayurved, Ashram P. O. Chitrakot, U.P. 6758

Chitrakot Asthma-Buti A very powerful and world renowned remedy which cures Asthma completely by one dose to be taken on 31-8-47 full moon. Apply atonce in English:— Shree Mahatma Maunibaba Ayurvedic Ashram Chitrakot, Dist. Banda, U. P. 6763

PERSONAL ADLETS

Use Only The Refreshing Mouth Wash of Compromat. S.A. A powerful germidicidal and dedourising [illegible] preventive for Cough and [illegible]ble at all leading [illegible]ists Army & Navy [illegible]Fraser Co., Ltd. 6745

[illegible]NERS[illegible]

PUBLIC NOTICES

FOR SALE

ONE SECONDHAND FORD TRUCK, 8 cylinder, 30 H.P. in running order. Please apply: General Manager, Tata Power Co., Ltd., Bombay House, Fort, Bombay. 4787

B. P. T. STORES DEPARTMENT

TENDERS will be received by the Controller of Stores, Bombay Port Trust at his Office at Clarke Bander, Mazagon, Bombay No. 10 upto 1 p.m., (S.T.) for the supply of the following on the dates shown against each items:—

1. Oil, groundnut.
   Price of Tender Re. 1/- per copy—Due date 21-8-47.
2. Joints, expansion premoulded and Paper waterproof road lining.
   Price of Tender Re 1/- per copy—Due date 25-8-47.
3. Blue stone setts.
   Price of Tender Re. 1/- per copy—Due date 26-8-47.
4. Logs Dealwood, Pinewood or Chirwood and Squares Oregon Pine or Douglas Fir.
   Price of Tender Re. 1/- per copy—Due date 27-8-47.
6. Cylinder hydraulic cast iron.
   Price of Tender Rs. 5/- per copy—Due date 2-9-47.
7. Paint light and dark grey readymixed.
   Price of tender Re. 1/- per copy—Due date 3-9-47.
8. Paint lead red dry, Zinc white moist and Lead white moist.
   Price of Tender Re. 1/- per copy—Due date 3-9-47.
9. Six Passenger Lift.
   Price of Tender Rs. 5/- per copy—Due date 7-10-47.
10. Boiler for S. W. B. "Zeebin".
    Price of Tender Rs. 5/- per copy—Due date 3-11-47

Tender forms giving full particulars and conditions can be obtained separately from the office on payment as shown against each. (4722)

G. I. P. RAILWAY

AUCTION NOTICE

SERVICEABLE EMPTY GUNNY BAGS, Jaggery Gunney pieces, empty cases (wooden) and empty tins will be auctioned at 9 hours on 19-8-47 at Bhusaval 'A' Railway Grainshop. Stocks may be inspected at site. Conditions governing auction will be available at the office of the Asst. Controller, Grainshops, G.I.P. Railway, Bhusaval. 4827

AGENTS WANTED

Wanted Agents:— Apply to:— K. Hanumaiah &Co. Manufacturers of Highclass Folding Comp Furniture, Narasarpet. 6767

PLOTS FOR SALE

Plots For Sale, Worli, Vadala and Sion Please communicate, Achitect L. B. Gandhi, 3rd floor, Manek Building, Vithalbhai Patel Road, Bombay 4. 6761

LOANS & MORTGAGES

Emergency Loans upto Rs. 100/- given locally. Write for details to Department E. Citizen Credit Syndicate Limited, Andheri. (6769)

MOTOR & ACCESSORIES

For Sale Chev. 1938 Sedan Car for immediate sale for Rs 9,500/- please contact with Asian Traders near Imperial Cinema, 321, Vithalbhai Patel Road, Bombay 4. on Thursday, the 14th inst. between 12 p.m. to 6p.m. 6767

MACHINERY WANTED

Wanted Cotton Baling Press, preferably Nasmith Wilson, Box 17 ft. either singly or with boiler, power plant and Auxiliaries. Write Box No. 6777, "Bombay Chronicle".

MACHINERIES FOR SALE

For Sale Marine and Stationary Engines, Steam Engine and Boilers, Foreign Make Machine Tools, Engineering Tools and Fittings, Tin Factory Machinery and Motor Launches. Please contact T. M. Antony, Gemney House, Ernakulam. 6711

Planing Shaping Radial Drill. For Sale combined Planning and Shaping machine 8'x2' and also Radial Drilling Machines having radius arm 7' and 5'. All reconditioned in England. From consignment arrived in docks. Contact Western Mfg. Co., Hassan Chambers, Parsee Bazar St., Fort, Bombay. (6717)

INVESTMENT.

Opportunity to Investors—We deal in all kinds of Stocks and Shares For particulars read our "Monthly Share Market Report." Specimen copy free on request. Please write to M|S Bengal Share Dealers' Syndicate Ltd., 12, Chowringhee Square, Calcutta (710)

MISCELLANEOUS ADLETS

General Merchandise, Chemicals, Wastepaper, contractor's heavy and light equipment We supply anything. Write us your wants. Lambert-Zboyan Company, 14, Gesner Street, Linden, New Jersey, U.S.A. (6687)

Wanted supply of chemically pure Thorium Nitrate any quantity available. Firms interested are requested to communicate with Box No. 4845, "Bombay Chronicle".

MISCELLANEOUS FOR SALE

For Sale Infra Red Oven for Heating, Baking and Drying. Temperature 220 degrees to 880 degrees F. Chamber 12" x 12" x 12" Standard chambers of any [illegible] Contact Western Mfg. [illegible]mbers, Parsee Ba[illegible]bay. (6732)

[illegible]oncern of mill [illegible]exports having [illegible]ated in Fort [illegible]interes[illegible]to Box

PUBLIC NOTICES

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF DIRECTOR OF PURCHASE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF FOOD
(DIV. III)

Mansingh Road, NEW DELHI.
Tender No. P-9(1)

SEALED TENDERS are invited for the purchase of the ENTIRE QUANTITY OF EACH ITEM of the following U.S.A. Surplus Foodstuffs lying at Northbrook Depot, Calcutta.

Item	Unit	Approx: Quantity in tons.
1. Apple Butter	lb.	143
2. Beans Pinto	"	51
3. Beans Lima	"	79
4. Beets	"	146
5. Beets Dehydrated	"	34
6. Beef Corned	"	107
7. Catsup Tomato	"	155
8. Cabbage Dehydrated	"	31
9. Chilie Con Corne	"	86
10. Hash Meat and Vegetable	"	120
11. Hash Corned Beef	"	90
12. Jam Assorted	"	189
13. Jelly Assorted	"	61
14. Juice Tomato	"	651
15. Juice Blended	"	64
16. Juice Grape Fruit	"	344
17. Noodle Eggs	"	48
18. Peas (Tinned)	"	589
19. Pork Sausage Meat	"	95
20. Pork & Gravy	"	43
21. Pears	"	39
22. Pickle Sweet Relish	"	373
23. Pickle Sweet	"	61
24. Pineapple	"	109
25. Pork & Beans	"	230
26. Pork Luncheon Meat	"	48
27. Pumpkin	"	170
28. Peaches	"	34
29. Powder Baking	"	32
30. Raisins	"	131
31. Spinach	"	20
32 Spaghetti	"	26
33. Stew Meat & Vegetable	"	155
34. Tomatoes	"	63
35. Tomato Puree	"	196
36. Turkey Boned	"	39
37. Coffee Roasted & Ground	"	138
38. Ration Type "C"	case	7322 cases
39. Spices Pack	case	13893 "

NOTE:—(a) Quantities mentioned above are approximate and are subject to availability on the date of delivery.

(b Each item has several different packs varying in weight and size.

2. Offers should be at AN AVERAGE PRICE PER UNIT as mentioned in col: 2 of para 1 above. The unit is of gross weight viz. it includes the weight of the container in which it is packed but does not include the weight of the packing case.

3. Tenders should be marked on the top of the cover "Tender for Miscellaneous U.S.A. Foodstuffs" and addressed to the Chief Director of Purchase, Department of Food (Division III), Mansingh Road, New Delhi so as to reach him not later than 4 p.m. of Saturday the 30th August, 1947. Tenders received after that time and date will not be considered. Tenders will be opened in public at 2-30 p.m. on Monday the 1st September, 1947.

4. The General Conditions of sale as laid down in form FDM-70 and Special Conditions will govern these sales. Copies of these conditions are obtainable from the Chief Director of Purchase, Department of Food (India), New Delhi.

5. The quantities shown in para 1 above are only approximate. These stocks will be sold "AS THEY LIE AND WHERE THEY LIE" WITH NO CLAIM IN RESPECT OF CONDITION OR DESCRIPTION OF THE GOODS OR ANY QUANTITY SHORT DELIVERED.

6. The items can be inspected at the North Brook Depot, Calcutta with the previous approval in writing of the Officer on Special Duty (Food Disposals), 8, Esplanade East, Calcutta.

7. Earnest Money calculated at 5% of the tendered price must accompany each offer and be forwarded in the form of a Government Treasury Receipt (the deposit being classified under the head "Revenue Deposit") or a Reserve Bank of India Draft or a Deposit at Call Receipt granted by any Scheduled Bank in favour of the Chief Director of Purchase. No other forms of deposit will be accepted.

8. A tenderer can make offers for more than one item in the same letter but his earnest money should be sufficient to cover all offers made in the same letter. Other things being equal, preference would be given to offers for the entire quantity of the largest number of items.

9. Tenderers must agree to keep their offers open upto the 10th September, 1947 otherwise their tenders will not be considered.

10. Any tenderer who withdraws his offer after the 30th August, 1947 shall be liable to forfeit his Earnest Money deposit in full.

11. The Chief Director of Purchase reserves the right to accept any offer or reject any or all offers without stating any reasons for so doing.

B. L. SAHNEY,
Director of Disposals,
For Chief Director of Purchase.

New Delhi.
Dated 8th August, 1947. 4831

PUBLIC NOTICES

NOTICE

Bobbins Manufacturers desiring sale of factory or sole selling representation in India. Correspond for details and terms to Box No. 4839 "Bombay Chronicle."

THE CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LTD.
LOST OR MISLAID

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that the share certificates in respect of following shares of the CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED have been LOST, MISLAID or accidentally destroyed by the respective parties and applications for the issue of duplicate share certificates have been submitted to the Bank.

5 Shares Nos. 313671/313675 in the name of late Joseph Cardoza claimed by his administrator, R. Cardoza.

10. Shares Nos. 769411|769420 in the joint names of Mrs. Firoze Nauzer Kanga and Nauzer Kaikhushru Kanga.

12 Shares Nos. 257721/257730, 201143/201149 in the name of late Gulam Mohiuddin and claimed by his successor, Mst. Mehar Afroz Begum.

7 Shares Nos. 125661/125665, 70680/70681 in the name of Nowrosjee Hormusjee.

5 Shares Nos. 579711/579715 in the joint names of Purushottam Raghunath Mungi and Bai Jankibai R. A. Mungi.

10 Shares Nos. 72376/72385 in the name of late the Honourable Rai Bahadur Ramsarandas claimed by his heir, Ravi Shanker.

5 Shares Nos. 579701/579705 in the name of late Radha Kisan Ramlal claimed by his successor, Ramchandra Radhakishan Maheshwari.

Any claim in respect of the abovementioned shares should be notified within one month from date to the registered office of the Bank, viz. The Central Bank Building, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort, Bombay, otherwise, duplicate share certificates in respect of the abovementioned shares will be issued to the abovenamed shareholders and/or their respective claimants and no claim on the original share certificates will thereafter be considered by the Bank.

H. C. CAPTAIN,
Managing Director.
Bombay, dated 11th August, 1947. 4835

NOTIFICATION
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
Central Tech: Power Board
"Cleremont"
SIMLA.

ELECTRIFICATION OF PORT BLAIR HQ. AREA

IT IS HEREBY NOTIFIED that the last date of the receipt of tenders for the supply and erection of overhead and underground mains, transformers, switchgear, street lighting equipment etc., for the above scheme, has been extended to 4 p. m. on Monday the 1st September 1947 and the date of the opening of the tenders to 10-30 a.m. on the 2nd September '47. Copies of specifications etc. can be had on payment of Rs. 15/- per set. Other terms and conditions as contained in the previous advertisement published in the Press remain the same.

By Order of the Board,
M. M. DHAWAN,
B.A., LL.B.,
Assistant Secretary
4841

GRAINSHOP DEPARTMENT.
B.B. & C.I. RLY.

QUOTATIONS returnable by 16 hrs. on 21-8-47, are invited on Railway's form for the supply of the following commodities from the merchants possessing the necessary trade licences.

For quantities, terms and deliveries and other conditions please apply to the Asstt. Controller of Grainshops, Church Gate, Bombay, at any time during working hours.

Earnest Money amounting to 5 per cent of the total value tendered for should be deposited with the Treasurer Broad Gauge Church Gate, Bombay, and the receipt thereof attached to the tender form.

COMMODITIES.
1. Pulses.
2. Edible Oils.
3. Spices.
4. Potatoes.
5. Onions.
6. Coffee Seeds.

4830

THE KURLA MATCH WORKS LIMITED

(In Voluntary Liquidation)

To

The Share Holders of

The Kurla Match Works Ltd.

(In Voluntary Liquidation).

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that pursuant to Section 208E of the Indian Companies Act 1913, a General Meeting of the Shareholders of the Kurla Match Works, Ltd., (In Voluntary Liquidation) will be held at 5 p.m. (S.T.) on 19th September, 1947, at the Office of the undersigned in 121, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort, Bombay, for the purpose of laying before the Company an account of the winding up showing how the winding up has been conducted and the property of the Company has been disposed of and giving any explanation in respect thereof.

C. R. MUCADUN
Liquidator
Bombay, 12th August, 1947. 6788

PUBLIC NOTICES

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND SUPPLIES
Office of the Director of Supplies Phoenix Building Graham Road: Ballard Estate, Bombay.

TENDER NOTICE

DIRECTOR OF SUPPLIES, BOMBAY, invites Tender No. BOM.M/933 to reach him on or before 11 A.M. on 25-8-47 on forms (not transferable) obtainable from his office at Rs. 2/- (not refundable) per set to be paid in cash or by Money order or Indian Postal Order (quoting Tender No., full name and address of the remitter) for:—

Description	Quantity
Brushes Hand sweeping Black Bristles 16" long over all (including 6" handle) as per sample No. IS/1344	4000 Nos.

Applicants not already on approved list of this Department or the late Department of Supply, must give their Bankers' reference on application for Tender forms. Tenders forms will not be issued to firms already black listed. 4840

NOTICE

APPLICATIONS ARE INVITED from Licentiates or Medical Graduates for the post of Honorary Anaesthetist at the M. A. Podar Hospital, Worli, Bombay, on Honorarium Rs. 50/- p. m.

For further particulars and application form apply to the Superintendent of the Hospital, with self addressed stamped envelope. The last date of receiving applications is 29th August 1947. Canvassing in any form will disqualify a candidate for appointment."

SUPERINTENDENT,
M. A. Podar Hospital, Worli,
Bombay. 4833

HYDROSULPHITE OF SODA

HYDROSULPHITE OF SODA, in 90% concentration, Manufactured by Rohm & Haas Co., Philadelphia PA, U.S.A.

We can book indents for HYDROSULPHITE OF SODA for shipment before 30th September, 1947. Interested parties holding licences, please contact soon, Post Box No. 256 Bombay. 4802

ASSAM PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.
WANTED SUB-ASSISTANT SURGEONS

APPLICATIONS ARE INVITED from candidates, natives of, or domiciled in Assam duly registered under the Assam Medical Act, 1916 for few posts of temporary sub-Assistant Surgeons in the Medical Department in the scale of pay of Rs 75-5-175/- p.m. plus usual dearness allowance etc. The following details are required:—

1. Registration number.
2. In the case of domiciled candidates, copies of certificates of domicile to be enclosed.
3. Age on the 1st January, 1947.
4. Home district.
5. Community.
6. Qualification.
7. Previous experience and present appointment, if any.

Applications with copies of testimonials (which will not be returned) should reach the Superintendent, office of the Assam Public Service Commission, Shillong, on or before the 13th October, 1947.

Application fee of Rs. 5/- should be credited into Treasury under head "XXXVI—Miscellaneous Departments—Examination Fees—Receipts of the Assam Public Service Commission" and chalan only attached to application.

Candidates who have served in the Armed Forces must apply through the Deputy Director of Resettlement and Employment, Assam, Shillong or the Employment Exchanges where they have registered their names and other Government servants should apply through proper channel. 4836

THE ASSOCIATED CEMENT COS. LTD.
LOSS OF TEMPORARY RECEIPT

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that Temporary Receipt No. N 1943/1946, dated 17th December, 1946, in respect of 90 New Share(s) numbered 1000035|39; 966444|463; 1006081/140 and 723475/79 of The Associated Cement Companies, Limited standing in the name(s) of Mr. Rupchand Jhunjhunwalla S|o Baijnath Jhunjhunwalla of Calcutta has been lost or mislaid, and the undersigned has applied to the Company for delivery of the Share Certificate(s) for the said Share(s).

Any person in possession of the said Temporary Receipt and/or having any claim to the said Share(s) should notify to and lodge such claim with the Company at its Registered Office at No. 1, Queen's Road, Fort, (Opposite Churchgate Railway Station) Bombay, WITHIN ONE MONTH from the date hereof after which period no claim will be considered and the Directors will proceed to deal with the said application and deliver the Share Certificate(s) if they think fit.

Dated this 13th day of August 1947

RAMANLAL K SHAH,
For Rupchand Jhunjhunwalla
Signature of the Shareholder. 6783

PUBLIC NOTICES

BOMBAY MUNICIPALITY
TENDER NOTICE.

THE CONTROLLER of Stores, Bombay Municipality invites tenders for the supply of Timber Country Teakwood (Tongued and grooved). Tender forms can be had from his office at 566, De-Lisle Road Bombay No. 11, on payment of Rs. 2/- per set. TENDER FORMS WILL NOT BE SENT BY V. P. P.

Tenders should be addressed to the Municipal Commissioner and delivered with deposits into the office of the Chief Accountant, Municipal Offices, Hornby Road, Fort Bombay, on Friday, the 22nd August 1947, not later than 1 P.M. (B.T.)

By Order of the
Municipal Commissioner.
4843

NOTICE.
(3½ % SHOLAPUR MUNICIPAL LOAN)

SEALED TENDERS superscribed "Tender for loan of Water Supply and Drainage" are invited from the public for 3½ % loan amounting to Rs. 1,16,000 out of Rs. 2,85,000 being the third instalment of the loan of Rs. 13,85,000 sanctioned under G.H.G.D. No. 4109 of 16th May 1945 for financing the schemes of Water Supply and Drainage so as to reach the Chief officer, Sholapur Municipality on or before 28TH AUGUST 1947 in the prescribed form available in the Municipal Account office at one anna each. The prospectus giving full particulars can be had free from the Account office.

(Sd.) L. J. CHANDAK,
President,
Sholapur Municipality.
Sholapur Municipal Office,
Sholapur, 8th August, 1947. 4842

G.I.P. RLY—TENDERS

THE DEPUTY GENERAL MANAGER (Grainshops), G.I.P. Railway, Bombay V.T., will receive tenders on the prescribed forms upto 3 P.M. on the 25th August, 1947, for the supply of Tur Dal, Moong Dal, Masur Dal, Orid Dal, Chowli, Watana-white, Dry Chillies, Tamarind Haldi, Dhania, Salt, Copra, Ag-mark Ghee, Pure Ground nut oil, Vegetables, Onions and Potatoes to the Railway godown at Shed No. 3 Wadi Bandar and the Railway grainshops at Kalyan, Thana, Dombivli Neral, Karjat, Kasara and Vasind. Tender documents may be obtained free of charge from the above office. 4846

LEGAL NOTICES

NOTICE

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that a BLANK FOOLSCAP PAPER signed in English by our clients PARSRAM VERAMAL & JAVERMAL VERAMAL for certain amount purposes has been LOST or MISPLACED at Poona probably in a public conveyance on 10th instant.

Any person finding the same is requested to send it to us on behalf of our clients. The finder will be rewarded.

Dated this 11th day of August, 1947.

KHUNDERAO LAUD & CO.,
Attorneys for Parsram Veramal and Javermal Veramal
101, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Fort, Bombay. 4834

WANTED
AIRLINE STEWARDS & HOSTESSES

Applications are now being accepted for Airline Stewards and Hostesses to fly on International routes. All applicants must meet the following requirements.

HOSTESSES:

AGE:	21 to 28 years
HEIGHT:	5' 2" to 5' 6".
WEIGHT:	100 to 130 lbs.
EDUCATION:	Senior Cambridge or Nurses Diploma.
LANGUAGE:	At least 2 including English.

Applicants must not be married.

STEWARDS:

AGE:	21 to 40 years.
HEIGHT:	5' 4" to 5' 11".
WEIGHT:	130 to 170 lbs.
EDUCATION:	Senior Cambridge.
LANGUAGE:	At least 2 including English.

All applicants must possess or be able to obtain an Indian passport. Apply:

TRANS WORLD AIRLINE,
New India Assurance Building,
Mahatma Gandhi Road, BOMBAY.

TWA
TRANS WORLD AIRLINE
(Incorporated with Limited Liability in the U. S. of America.)

PUBLIC NOTICES

NOTIFICATION.

ISSUED from the Court of the Sessions Judge and Nazim Sadar Adalat, Estate of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur, Dewan Devdi, Hyderabad (Deccan) in suit No. 1 of 1356 F. Md. Qasim versus Mooljt Jetha and others defendants, suit regarding rendering accounts and distribution of interest accruing from the ginning factory.

The General Secretary of Khandesh Spinning and Weaving and Ginning Factory, Jalgaon, is hereby informed that several summons were issued to him but were returned unserved as his address was not known. As per request of the plaintiff 27th August, 1947, WEDNESDAY, is fixed for the hearing of the suit and the defendant is required to attend the court on said date at 10 a.m. personally or duly represented by a pleader to defend the suit in case of default the case will be heard and determined in his absence.

Issued under my signature this 24th day of June, 1947.

MAHMOOD ABDUL QADEER,
for Nazim Sadar Adalat.
4838

LEGAL NOTICES

SALE NOTICE

BAI HOORBAI HAJI PEERMAHOMED, of Bombay, Muslim Inhabitant has contracted to sell to our client the undermentioned property.

Any person having claim of any sort whatever against the said property is required to notify the same to us within 14 days.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPERTY

Land of pension and tax tenure (cess redeemed) with a building thereon, admeasuring about 160 square yards bearing Collector's New No. 3312; New Survey No. 8345, Cadastral Survey No. 223 of Bhuleshwar Division, C Ward No. 2620, Street Nos. 36-42 situate at Third Marine Street, Bombay.

Dated this 11th day of August, 1947.

VACHHA & CO.,
Purchaser's Attorneys.
Yusuf Building,
Churchgate Street, Fort,
Bombay. 4832

ENGLISH
CARBIDE OF CALCIUM IMPORTERS
RADHAKANTO DOSS & SONS, LTD.
Glassware, Enamelware, Lampware, Cutlery and Aluminium Dealers.
211, Old China Bazar St., Calcutta.

DEAFNESS

Partial or total-complicated with head noises and other troubles—how long and what causes—cured radically and permanently in four weeks by our safe sure world-wide reputed and tested Herbal home-treatment Particulars on request.

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Panchpota, BENGAL.

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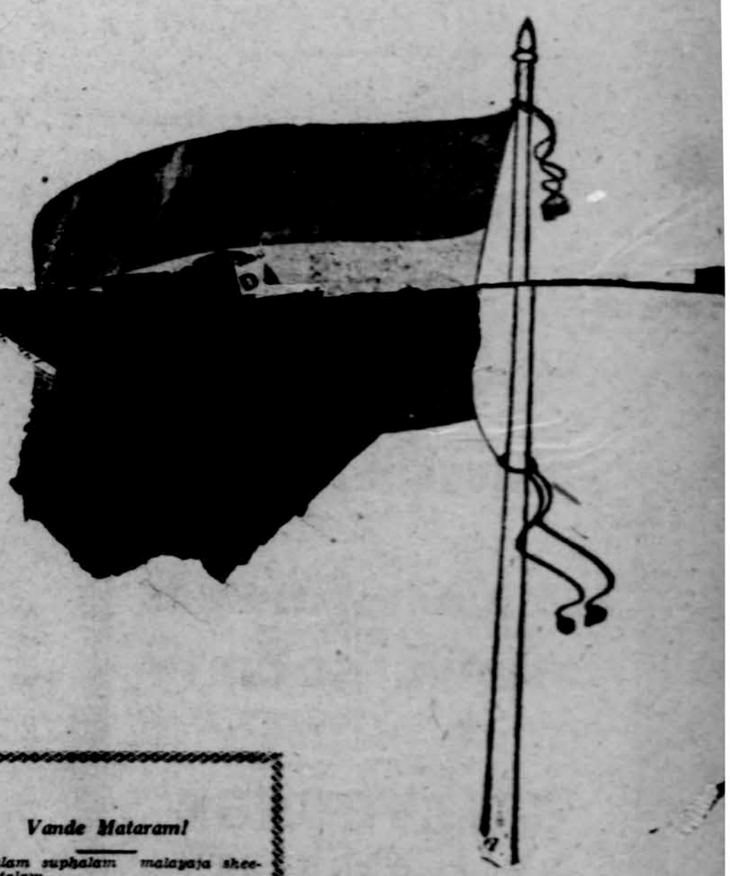
WHITE-CEMENT
Made in Belgium
Selling Agents
INDIA-BURMA-CEYLON
STOCKS JUST ARRIVED
S. N. SUNDERSON & CO.,
ORIGINAL ROAD.
(Opp. Paharganj Police Station)
NEW DELHI.
Telephones: 7284, 5383.

The Bombay Chronicle

Dedicated To Mahatma Gandhi–The Father Of Our Nation



Hindostan Hamara

Sare jahan se achha Hindostan Hamara,
Ham bulbulen hain iski yeh gulistan Hamara,
Parbat woh sab se uncha hamsaya asman ka,
Woh santari hamara, woh pash hamara,
Godi men khelti hain nadian,
Gulshan hai jiske jinaan hamara
Mazhab nahin sikhata bair rakhna,
Hindi hain ham tan hamara.

Vande Mataram!

Sujalam suphalam malayaja sheetalam
Sasyashyamalam Mataram!
Vande Mataram!
Shubhrajyotsna pulakita-yamineem,
Phullakusumita drumadalo shobhineem,
Suhasineem sumadhurabhashineem,
Sukhadam, varadam, Mataram,
Vande Mataram!

ALLAN OCTAVIAN HUME

W. C. BONNERJEE

DABAI NAOROJI.

ANANDA CHARLU.

GEORGE YULE.

SIR P. M. MEHTA.

LOKMANYA TILAK.

HERALD THE DAWN OF FREEDOM

Prompt Settlement OF CLAIMS

Every working hour of 1946 over Rs. 1000 was paid to Policyholders' beneficiaries.

★

Total Assets exceed Rs. 3 Crores 90 lacs. ★ Bonus: Whole Life Rs. 10. ★ Endowment Rs. 8 per thousand per annum.

LAKSHMI INSURANCE CO. LTD.

Head Office: LAHORE — Bombay: Sir P. M. ROAD — Hyderabad (Dn.): ABID ROAD

What Kind Of Freedom?

INDEPENDENCE DAY IS HERE AT LAST. After all the setbacks, disappointments, discouragements we can hold up our heads before the world, for we are now a nation with a separate flag of our own, a flag which will have to be recognised by the world, which is being carried by India's many ambassadors to all parts of the world, and which will flutter proudly at many International gatherings.

It is like the dawn of a new day after a long night. So let us greet the dawn with gladness, courage, faith and hope in our hearts. Our great leaders have lived to see the fulfilment, albeit partial, of their cherished dreams. While we greet the new day let us remember those patriots who are dead and gone whose work helped to bring this day nearer.

Let us forget the bitterness and anguish of these past months, put our shoulder to the wheel and in a united effort see that we make the best of our opportunities for our masses, give them a square deal which they have not had so far. To those who unfortunately have had to leave their hearts and homes let us offer a home so that they can forget the past and start anew honestly. There are tasks ahead of us which will tax to the utmost all the ingenuity and ability of our leaders and administrators.

THE FREEDOM WE WANT

Starvation and economic chaos threatens us in many provinces. The blackmarkets are flourishing in the most essential commodities of the people. The ordinary man in the street is rather puzzled and inclined to be apathetic, for he has an aching void inside of him which no soothing or high-sounding words about independence can fill. Let us remember that cleverness and talent without honesty of heart and character is not going to take us a long way. This independence to rule ourselves would be of no value unless freedom from slavery of mind, and from physical wants, freedom from disease, ignorance and penury, freedom from exploitation of the week by the powerful, freedom from nepotism, freedom to think and act and live like enlightened human beings goes with it.

Let us live in peace and goodwill with our erstwhile co-citizens who have now become our neighbours. Let us while honouring our own flag, honour that of our neighbours, and see that no thoughtless or hasty action on our part brings discredit to our flag.

I add my appeal to those of our leaders to see that every house carries our national flag to mark the regeneration of our nationhood.

By Mr. Mithan Lam

CALICO MILLS, AHMEDABAD; SWASTIK OIL MILLS LTD. BOMBAY; SARABHAI CHEMICALS, BARODA; BEHAR SUGAR WORKS, PACHKUHI; KARAMCHAND PREMCHAND LTD., AHMEDABAD, WESTERN INDIA PROSPECTING SYNDICATE LTD., AHMEDABAD; BAKUBHAI & AMBALAL LTD., LONDON; SARABHAI AGENCIES, NEW YORK; BAKUBHAI AMBALAL LTD., BOMBAY; COTTON & COLTH LTD., BOMBAY.

IN COMMEMORATION OF
THE MOST MEMORABLE DAY OF INDIA'S INDEPENDENCE

15TH AUGUST, 1947

RAJKAMALS Present

GANDHI AND STALIN

—TWO SIGNS AT THE WORLD'S CROSS ROADS—

BY

LOUIS FISCHER

GREATEST TRIBUTE EVER PAID TO THE BELOVED FATHER OF OUR NATION

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P[illegible]

BALLYGUNGE [illegible]

whose principal work has been and w[illegible] nature of a

LAND DEVELOPMENT AND BUILDING SOCIETY

and who have been pioneers in the field will henceforth be known as

BALLYGUNGE REAL PROPERTY AND BUILDING SOCIETY LTD

as under the Banking Bill of the Government of India no company carrying on any business other than 'Banking' would be entitled to use the word 'Bank' with its name.

The change of name has been unanimously accepted in the Extraordinary General Meeting of the share-holders of the Ballygunge Bank Ltd. held on 28.6.47. Permission for the use of the new name has been obtained from the Hon'ble High Court, Calcutta, the Finance Department of the Government of India and the Government of Bengal.

FIXED DEPOSITS WILL, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO BE ACCEPTED AS BEFORE.

ISSUED BY

Ballygunge Real Property and Building Society Ltd.

BALLYGUNGE BANK BUILDINGS
GARIAHATA ROAD, CALCUTTA.

MANAGING DIRECTORS:
PROF. N. C. MAITRA DR. S. N. SINHA.

Lest We Forget...

THE fifteenth of August 1947 will mark a red letter day for the Indian Nation, as it will usher in Independence for which thousands of men and women have offered immense sacrifices.

The fight for freedom has been waged for almost a century and the happy result is now achieved that we have secured independence and will be able to [illegible] an of

[illegible] was when the name of this [illegible]try was prominent in the world [illegible]d her ships went to the furthermost ends of the earth with articles of merchandise manufactured here and with spiritual messages. Even now the culture of nearby Eastern countries testifies to the great influence of ancient India on the arts, sculpture, literature and philosophy of those far-off neighbours of ours.

Escaped From Jails

We celebrate 15th August to remember the sacrifices of our leaders and liberators. The late Dr. C. R. Pillai was one of such men. Born and brought up in Travancore some sixty years back he had imbibed early the tenets of revolution. He received the baptism of patriotism at a very early age and was sentenced to suffer the extreme pentalty of the law.

By J. K. Mehta

Through the good favours of an Englishman he managed to make his escape and went to Europe.

He first went to Italy and then to Switzerland where he got his training. He went after that to Germany where he settled permanently. His knowledge of the German language was almost unsurpassed and even the leading German politicians said that his command over the language and the fire and brilliance of his orations could not be equalled by a German. He moved about Germany and the Continent giving lectures on India and creating opinion in favour of Indian independence.

He was one of the first Indians who put forward definitely the creed of Independence. It was at the time a dangerous cry and the fate which met several Indian young men who came to India showed how it was not a pillow fight which they were waging but a life and death struggle This too against the mightiest Empire of those times. Then came the world war of 1914 and the young men scattered abroad thought that the long anticipated and longed-for time had arrived for striking a blow for the freedom and independence of their Motherland.

Political Sanyasi

There may be two opinions with regard to the methods they followed and the policy they pursued, but there cannot be any difference as regards their high, sterling and burning patriotism. They became political 'Sanyasis' and staked their all for the cause in which they had such implicit faith. They had no resources of their own and had to go without food and the necessities of life several times. Over and above all this, they were followed by the sleuth hounds of the powerful Governments of the Continent with which they came into

Dr. Pillai Victim Of Gestapo

clash because of their antagonism to England.

The World War came to an end and the dreams and visions of these young men vanished away in thin air. If the life in pre-war times was miserable for them, the life in post-war times was terrible Some of them were able to come back to India and to take part in the constructive work for their Motherland but others had to spend years without any hope of seeing their Motherland. The late Dr. Pillai was one of these. Those who saw him in Germany were struck by the dreams he still cherished and the knowledge he manifested on industrial Germany.

Trade Agents In Berlin

It was because of this that some of the gentlemen who met him recommended to the Federation to have a representative of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in Germany almost like a Consul. The federation accepted the proposal and appointed Dr Pillai as their Agent in Berlin. He was thus a forerunner of the present day Consuls and Trade Commissioners He sent out weekly reports and answered trade enquiries from Indian businessmen. He did fairly good work but the financial difficulties were fairly heavy and there had not still been that realisation of the advantages of such service which businessmen have got now.

The office was therefore closed though he continued to help the travelling businessmen with his advice and suggestions. In the meanwhile, momentous events were taking place in Germany and Hitler had come into power. He was notoriously anti-Asiatic and anti-Indian. He celebrated his coming into power by a rabid communication he issued with regard to British rule in this country lauding it to the skies and [illegible] say that the Indians were not at all fit for Self-Government. The Indian Merchants' Chamber of Bombay the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry lodged a strong but dignified protest against the views held forth by Hitler and authorised Dr. Pillai to give the true to Indian views in Germany and the rest of Europe.

Gestapo Victim

This brought forward upon him the wrath of Hitler and [illegible] while coming out of a [illegible] was set upon by some [illegible] He was taken to a hos[illegible] there.

Thus ended a life [illegible] earnest and [illegible] vice to India. Among [illegible] names to be remembered [illegible] of Independence [illegible] name.

The statement [illegible] giving his reasons [illegible] himself with a

Berkeley are a real find!

"When I tried Wills's Berkeley for the first time, I did so because the price suited my pocket. Having smoked them I discovered I had made a real find. They are [illegible]-made cigarettes, with a [illegible]quality not

[illegible]LLS'S
[illegible]KELEY
[illegible]R TTES
[illegible]tter value
[illegible]lus local tax where in force

W. D. & H. O. WILLS, BRISTOL & LONDON

[illegible] Unioun- Punjabiism and non- non-vio- ence and and non- boycott and a board of other 'isms and isms".

"For me there is only one India— a United Greater India! To work for this India, to belong to it and to serve it, is my ambition in life."

... STAR RISES IN THE EAST

...Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru

...d Day has come— the day appointed by destiny, and ...h again after long slumber and struggle, awake, vital, ...ndent.

...gs on to us still in some measure and we have to do ... redeem the pledges we have so often taken. Yet the ... past, history begins anew for us, the history which we ...act and others will w rite about.

...l moment for us in rance and disease. To build up a ...sia and for the world. prosperous, democratic and progres- ...es, the star of freedom sive nation, and to create social, ... new hope comes into economic and political institutions ... long cherished mate- which will ensure justice and fullness ...the star never set and of life to every man and woman. ...ever be betrayed!

... in that freedom, even We have hard work ahead. There ...s surround us, and is no resting for any one of us till we ...r people are sorrow- redeem our pledge in full, till we ...d difficult problems en- make all the people of India what ... But freedom brings re- destiny intended them to be. We are ...s and burdens and we citizens of a great country, on the ...ce them in the spirit of a verge of bold advance, and we have ...disciplined people. to live up to that high standard. All of us to whatever religion we may

MESSAGES

GLORY OF FREEDOM WE HAVE WON

By Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

I send my best wishes and greetings to the readers of the "Bombay Chronicle" on the Independence Day. Today when we are witnessing the fulfilment of our life's ambition and participating in the victory that has crowned the nation's struggle for freedom, it is our first duty to pay homage to the memory of those whose sacrifices have contributed so much to this glorious conclusion of that struggle. Let the nation honour their memory in the rejoicing which freedom has brought in its train.

For us the fortunate ones who have lived to see this day, the hour is one both of pride and glory. We are proud to have brought India to its goal and to acclaim the glorious results achieved by a long-sustained peaceful and non-violent struggle under Gandhiji's inspiring leadership.

Although it must be acknowledged that the goal which we have reached is not the one that we had set out for there is not the least doubt that there is nothing now to prevent us from moulding the future of India in the manner we like. It is our glory that we are free to share the fruits of the struggle with every man, woman and child in this vast subcontinent.

Obligations Of Freedom

Let us not forget, however, in the joy of the hour, the stupendous responsibilities and obligations which freedom has brought in its wake. Our primary duty is jealously to guard our freedom against dangers from without and from within. We have also to ensure that the humblest among us has the same stature as the tallest in the land, that Labour gets its legitimate share of its product, that the toiling millions in villages obtain just return for the sweat of their brow, and that the State discharges adequately its elementary duty of feeding, clothing, housing and educating every son and daughter of the Motherland.

It has now been given to us by Providence to fashion our country's destiny according to our cherished ideals and aspirations. If we fail the Motherland, the blame will not lie at other's doors. Indeed, there are enormous difficulties and almost insuperable obstacles in our way, but it is for us to overcome them.

We ask all our countrymen to lend us a helping hand in this gigantic task. The duty is too sacred to be profaned by selfish scrambles, internecine dissensions, and narrow prejudices; the responsibilities are too great to be slighted by obstructive tactics or prejudiced by subversive activities.

Many a wound of this fair country remains to be healed; many an anguished soul requires to be comforted. In this humanitarian and national endeavour, none can afford either to withhold co-operation or to refuse goodwill. All of us must offer our best in this joint undertaking.

Dedicate Anew

Our hearts naturally go out to those who were of us and with us so long but who are now to be separated. Few can realise the bitterness and sorrow which partition has brought to those who cherished unity but live... to fashion its details. But let not our brethren across the border feel ... rejected or forgotten. ...claim our vigilance ... with abiding in- ... and we shall follow ... full hope and ...terest their future ... than later we ... confidence that sooner ... shall again be united ... giance to our country.

It is in this spirit ... faith that we must dedicate ours... this day afresh to the service ... the nation and invite all our co... ...en to do the same.

Maulana Abul ...zad

"The first pha... ...tional struggle has ... We have achieved ... not have done, ... co-operation, ... of the entire ... these qualities ... coud and more ... reconstruction.

We should ... newly-won fr... which will ma... fulfilment of ... dian must, in ... pond to the ... perform his or ... whatever statio... may be."

...abhbhai Patel

John Mathai

Amrit Kaur

Abul Kalam Azad

C. H. Bhabha

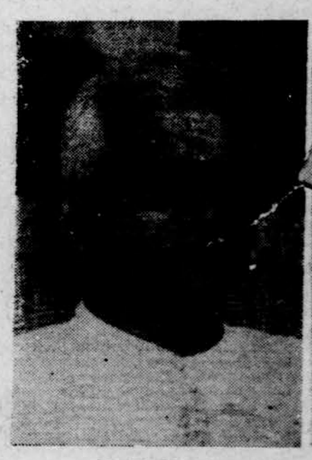
Rajendra Prasad

INDIA'S CABINET

...waharlal Nehru, Prime Minister

Shanmukham Chetty

Jagjivan Ram



N. V. Gadgil

Rafi Ahmad Kidwai

Baldev Singh

B. R. Ambedkar

A Challenge To Our Lethargy

Dr. John Mathai,

"I send my warm greetings to the "Bombay Chronicle" on the occasion of its celebration of Independence Day. The BOMBAY CHRONICLE ever since its inception, has played a valiant part in the fight for India's freedom, and can justly claim no small share of the credit for its successful completion.

Although freedom has come at last, it seems, for the time being at any rate, that it lacks both in compass and in content the fulness we had hoped for. Nevertheless, what we have achieved is sufficient to enable us, if we know how to use our resources courageously and wisely, to make a substantial beginning with long-delayed tasks of rehabilitation.

Production is our immediate need, but more production without fairer distribution will not help where help is most needed, and will therefore largely fail of its purpose. I am convinced that the independence we have attained will prove worthless unless the distributive side of our economy is given is given equal consideration with the productive side. Independence comes as a challenge to our lethargy and to our time-honoured approach in these matters. I trust we shall be able to rise to the challenge and I look to the BOMBAY CHRONICLE to continue to lend its powerful support to this cause.

Rajkumari Amrit Kaur

"The eagerly-longed-for day of transfer of power to Indian hands has come. Alas! that the radiance of the dawn, to which we had looked forward, should be marred by the cloud of communal strife and hatred, which has brought such sorrow to thousands and has even resulted in the creation of two dominions.

Nevertheless, the future is now ours. Let there be no regrets as to what might or should have been. The responsibilities that devolve on every citizen of India are great. Let us face the future with hope and courage. If we hang together now, determined to think only in terms of service of the poor, struggling masses, if we are loyal to the ideals for which the Congress has stood throughout the long years of its struggle, if we eschew all personal gain, if we banish all thoughts of communalism, there is no reason whatsoever why the Indian Union should not become a land worthy of the high traditions and culture, of which we are proud inheritors. Our success will depend on the inherent moral strength which we can muster. May God grant it to us."

Sir Akbar Hydari,
Governor Of Assam

"On this day we should first pay homage to the Architects of our Freedom — those who are alive and those who are no more among us. They hail from all the Provinces of India and from all her varied communities. From Dadabhoy Naoroji to Mahatma Gandhi, we salute them.

"To-day is a day of rejoicing and of dedication. Of rejoicing, because everyone of us must feel a lightening of heart that at long last we can move about our own land, the masters of our own destinies.

"And of dedication; for dedicate ourselves we must: to use our new-won Freedom with Tolerance, Wisdom and Humility.

"Democracy is, of all forms of Government, the most difficult to work, but if a people are disciplined and tolerant they can make it the strongest and the best. We should pledge ourselves to the true practice of democracy and the conquest of its enemies: Intolerance, Ignorance, Disease, and Want. There is a great deal of work to be done. On this auspicious day let us, young and old, resolve to get together and in good neighbourliness to do it faithfully and well."

Sir B. L. Mitter,
Dewan Of Baroda State

"This is the greatest day in Indian history for more than a thousand years. India today is a free nation and, as such, a member of the British Commonwealth. This means that we are an equal partner of England, Canada, Australia and other Dominions."

Largest in population, we are the poorest economically. We have to go a long way to catch them up. Freedom from want is our immediate need. We learnt little else than politics from the English. Our agriculture is neglected; our cattle ... poor; our industries backward; our education does not develop character; our medical services grossly inadequate, our waters mostly run into the sea, our mining wasteful, our commercial morality of a low type, our social institutions delapidated, and our nationality tends to parochialism.

"We have to reform all round. After the storm has abated, it takes time for the sea to become still. The struggle has ended. But our constructive talent has yet to be developed to lead the nation on right lines. Internal destructive forces have still to be subdued. The greater the difficulty, the greater is the opportunity and the greater will be the triumph. India has to be welded into a great nation. No time should be lost in making a start. Let us be honest and let us be earnest. We shall succeed."

Dr. P. C. Ghosh,
Premier, West Bengal

"15th August will be ever remembered as a memorable day in the history of India. There are many people who do not realise the significance of the day. We are going to be the masters of our destiny on this ... So, I hope men and women ... Bengal living in India will ... that day in a fitting man...

A UNIQUE REVOLUTION.

This revolution which has ushered in the birth of freedom for this land is a unique one in the history of the world. Never before was so great an event transforming the destiny of so many millions of men and women consummated with such little bloodshed and violence. This is a triumph not of one brute might over another but of the spirit of freedom and humanity over the blinding greed of imperialism. That this has been possible is due to the inspiring leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, who, if any man may be so called, is the Father of our Nation. He has led us in the non-violent battle for freedom and he has shown us the way to make this freedom fruitful in the service of our people. To him we pay our homage.

We sought to achieve freedom for an India that was one and, to us, indivisible. And yet millions of our brothers and sisters who were our countrymen yesterday will to-day become subjects of a separate State. We accepted this separation, however painful, because freedom from foreign rule was the imperative necessity of our national existence and unity without freedom had turned into disunity. Freedom achieved unity may return, a unity truer than we had before.

Let us not be disheartened because freedom has not come in the full glory of a united India. The tragedy of the last few months which has set brother against brother and disfigured the fair face of this nation has cast a deep shadow of gloom in our hearts. Nevertheless, as a wounded soldier rejoices if he holds aloft the banner of freedom, even so we rejoice at the advent of this day.

PRIVILEGE AND RESPONSIBILITY

What we have achieved to-day is the tiny. This is the highest privilege and highest responsibility. This privilege and this responsibility shall be shared equally by all citizens of the Indian Union, to whatever religion, community or party they may belong. Let every citizen pledge himself to-day to bend all his energies to the building of a democratic society based on social justice, where all power shall reside in the people and all citizens shall have equal opportunities of development. To-day our enemy is not outside us but within us. Hunger, poverty and disease, our ignorance, prejudice and folly, and above all the spirit of violence and disorder let loose by communal passions, are our real enemies. Against these enemies we have to marshal all our forces. It is the sacred duty of every Indian to help the State fight these enemies. This new struggle will need even a greater spirit of sacrifice and self-discipline than we showed in our struggle for freedom.

PLEDGE ANEW.

The Congress has declared in unmistakable term that Swaraj cannot be real for the masses unless it makes possible the achievement of a society in which democracy extends from the political to the social and economic sphere, and in which there would be no opportunity for privileged classes to exploit the bulk of the people, nor for gross inequalities such as exist at present. Such a society would ensure individual liberty, equality of opportunity and the fullest scope for every citizen for the development of his personality.

Only in such a society will the common man be freed from the tripie exploitation of the communalist, the capitalist and the bureaucrat. Such a society which derives its strength from the happiness of its people and its unity from their willing allegiance will be the best inducement to be seceding parts to rejoin India and share her great heritage. To the building of such a society let every Indian pledge himself on this day.

VANDE MATARAM.

On this day our first thoughts go to the Architect of this freedom, the Father of our Nation who, embodying the old spirit of India, held aloft the torch of freedom and lighted up the darkness that surrounded us.

We have often been unworthy followers of his and have strayed from his message, but not only we but succeeding generations will remember this message and bear the imprint in their hearts of this great son of India, magnificent in his faith and strength and courage and humility. We shall never allow that torch of freedom to be blown out, however high the wind or stormy the tempest.

Our next thoughts must be of the unknown volunteers and soldiers of freedom who, without praise or reward, have served India even unto death.

We think also of our brothers and sisters who have been cut off from us by political boundaries and who unhappily cannot share at present in the freedom that has come. They are of us and will remain of us whatever may happen, and we shall be sharers in their good and ill-fortune alike.

The future beckons to us. What to do we go and what shall be our endeavour? To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, to the peasants and workers of India. To fight and end poverty and ignorance and disease. To build up a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, and to create social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman.

We have hard work ahead. There is no resting for any one of us till we redeem our pledge in full, till we make all the people of India what destiny intended them to be. We are citizens of a great country, on the verge of bold advance, and we have to live up to that high standard. All of us to whatever religion we may belong are equally the children of India with equal rights, previleges and obligations. We cannot encourage communalism or narrow-mindedness, for no nation can be great whose people are narrow in thought or in action.

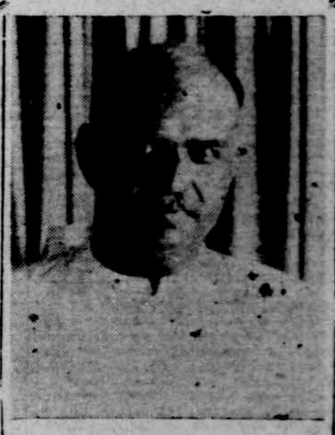
To the nations and peoples of the world we send greetings and pledge ourselves to co-operate with them in furthering peace, freedom and democracy.

And to India, our much-loved motherland, the ancient, the eternal and the ever-new, we pay our reverent homage and we bind ourselves afresh to her service.

JAI HIND!

Sarojini Naidu
Governor, United Provinces

May the freedom for which millions toiled and suffered become, in truth, the personal and inalienable heritage of our people. May it bring to the peasant at his plough, the delver in the mine, the woman at her spinning wheel, a consciousness that the days of hunger and nakedness are over and that India's freedom means not only security and happiness for them, but for all the poor and exploited human beings in the world."



S. P. Mukherjee

C. Rajagopalachari,
Governor, West Bengal

"My best wishes to the BOMBAY CHRONICLE, which stands stubbornly for goodwill in spite of partition"

'THIS IS THE WORLD WE ENTER TODAY'

New Era Of Liberty, Responsibility And Prosperity For All

By MORARJI DESAI, Minister for Home And Revenue, Government of Bombay.

Never perhaps in the glorious and tragic history of this country since the days of the great Emperor Asoka —whose symbolical emblem occupies a place of pride in our new national flag—have the millions greeted a single day as the four hundred millions of this country are greeting, with joy though mixed with some regret, this fateful day of August 15, 1947.

We are now on the threshold of the realization of our dream of national independence and of the cohesion of common aims. Though we have not achieved what we set out to achieve, the real freedom of the people in the true sense of that term, has yet to be achieved with our own exertions and with a sense of loyalty to the great ideals of our national struggle. We have today been enabled to grasp a great opportunity and to reach our ultimate national goal if we work hard enough.

SACRED DUTY

We can therefore best celebrate this day if we take account of the situation, keep our vision clear and prepare the blueprints for a great future. This is a sacred duty we owe not only to ourselves but also the memory of those who have fought, suffered and sacrificed in the battle of freedom. They lived through every privation and human misery and bravely died in obscurity so that their country should be free and countrymen should be able to live up to the noble heritage of the past. Today we salute to those heroic spirits with gratitude. They are not with us to share the fruit of their toil.

We could say that we are now the masters of our destiny. But is that enough? Liberty brings with it responsibility and we are called upon to shoulder and discharge it in a manner worthy of our ideals. We will have to impose upon ourselves the soldier's duty of guarding with eternal vigil that freedom We will also have to repair the ravages occasioned by centuries of foreign rule. We have to regain our national strength, use that strength to invigorate the social and national life and achieve a new prosperity for ourselves.

Freedom for the people of this country could hardly have any meaning unless it established, through proper and wise use of our new opportunities, a prosperous and equitable social existence. To chase away poverty, social injustice, fear and intertia that foreign rule and the sense of helplessness have created—this would be our first task. But in accepting the responsibility of that task, we must imbibe a high degree of disciplined sense of responsibility and work in a spirit of national service.

UNHAPPY INTERLUDE

It would be idle to deny that the prevailing psychological atmosphere in the country is far from encouraging. It has been our humiliation in this great country of ours which gave birth to the highest philosophical thought and spiritual refinement that we should be torn in fraternal strife in which brother thirsts for and sheds brother's blood. Our first task therefore must be concerned with regaining the pose, manliness and tolerance of a free and disciplined people for which the progressive nations feel respect and admiration.

The greatness of a nation is born out of the greatness of the spirit of the people of that nation. Political slavery, as we have seen in world history is an accident of history. Our own victory, however limited in its scope, demonstrates the truth of this statement and a people who are conscious of their will to freedom can never be enslaved howsoever brutal and apparently overwhelming the forces of suppression may be. We have inculcated this spirit under the inspiration of great men of vision like Dadabhai Naoraji, Lok. Tilak and Mahatma Gandhi and, now that we have broken the fetters of foreign rule, we must harness this spirit to the service of the cause of creative work that awaits us.

FREEDOM'S NEW DEAL

We have been gifted with men of vision to guide us in the work of rehabilitation in every sphere of national life. But much depends on ourselves and our efforts; and the freedom we are celebrating today would have no meaning unless we shoulder, with enthusiasm and energy, faith and lovality and, above everything else with confidence in ourselves, the burden of constructive effort. To work out the ideals inscribed in the democratic constitution of free India, great effort on the part of every individual is necessary in making the maximum use of our rich national resources with a view to raising the standard of our millions who have always lives in semi-starvation and appalling conditions of social neglect. No man or woman in this country who is ready to work should starve. The underprivileged should have their status raised and should be enabled to share the national prosperity. We will have to carry on a ruthless war against any and every type of tyranny of the strong against the weak. Every national should get an equal opportunity to work and share common happiness.

THE GREAT OPPORTUNITY

We look forward to the great opportunities furnished by the new era that starts its course on this memorable day. We had never been really free under the limitations of the constitutional position of the *Government of India, Act*, 1935. Today, all those difficulties have been removed and with a real people's government established at the centre. We enter into a new era in which the people's Ministry will at last be able to implement the accepted programme. In a world that is growing smaller and mutually interdependent, we should not look forward to miracles.

Every foreign rule ever after it has disappeared leaves behind a bitter legacy of its influence and tradition. International disruption and parasitism which flourished under the regime of a foreign rule will naturally die hard.

The enemies of people's freedom and prosperity have been active amongst us, mostly through misuse of democratic freedom of criticism and expression, and they have been engaged in sowing the seed of distrust and hatred of class against class.

There are those who, under the protective screen of disturbed conditions of countrywide internecine conflict, have sought to preach hatred and violence. Democratic freedom is not freedom to disrupt and it will now be the task of the people and their tribune to protect society against these elements.

PROGRESS THROUGH WORK:

In the new era we should look forward, not behind, and we should look forward to being able, as never before, to improve the living conditions of our people through full exploitation of our natural resources. Our great manpower and our will to prosperity must be pressed in the great task of agricultural and industrial reorganization. Both our agricultural and industrial economy, which must be balanced in order to meet the needs of modern national hood, will have to be overhauled and reconstructed.

We have upon us the double task of enjoying freedom and creating the means of protecting that freedom with a strong defensive organization We have valuable friends throughout the world and there are men of goodwill whose cooperation should help us. But we must rely, first and last on our effort, initiative, and wise action based on that spirit which, throughout our history, has upheld the values of genuine, tolerance and progressive existence.

I share with the people the hopes and aspirations of August makes possible to accomplish. It is our privilege to carry out the programme that gives political freedom real meaning in terms of everyday life of the common man both in the village and the city Every Indian today must respect, protect and strengthen the freedom that belongs to the millions of this country who have suffered and sacrificed so much.

LONG LIVE INDIAN FREEDOM!

Essence Of Democracy

BY M. Y. NURIE

TODAY we all have most difficult and complex duties and responsibilities to our new-born country.

The old certainties have suddenly disappeared, the old values are chainging and are in the melting pot, bitterness and hatred have gone deep and far, discontentment is all round.

Under these circumstances, it is the duty of every one of us to understand the true situation, to examine it cooly and adapt ourself to its requirements.

We must remember that India is not still free and Independent. It has not yet reached its cherished goal and Democracy is yet in the making. To achieve our goal and establish real Democracy we must internally combine and prevent hatred and prejudice through enlightened education and mutual understanding.

Equal Opportunity

A Democratic Society is as much a matter of friendly inter-relations of its members as of the forms through which it is ruled. Fear and insecurity in the minds of its members are fatal to Democracy. There should be no discrimination on grounds of religion, race, sex or wealth The essence of Democracy is that all the citizens in a Democratic Society share rights and responsibilities on equal terms and are given equal opportunities to occupy such positions of trust and importance as their capacities make them fit for and have the fullest possible opportunity to serve one another without any distinction. It is wrong to think that the essence of Democracy is a parliamentary election conducted under conditions of conflict between political parties of the traditional western type.

If we all understand it and work honestly for it, this new born Indian Union certainly rise loftier than any country the world has ever known in its history.

A DAY OF DESTINY

BY S. K. PATIL, President, Bombay P.C.C.

NO day during the last thousand years of our national history could be called half as momentous and historic as the 15th of August 1947.

Whatever the critics, genuine or fancied may say the importance of this day simply unque. The joy of the nation could have been complete and unbounded if circumstances beyond our control and not of our making, would not have forced a division down our throats. The nation has not swallowed this enforced division nor can it be expected to swallow it any time in future.

Obviously, we have succumbed to the inevitable, firstly because the alternative was thousand times more disastrous and secondly because our acceptance of the present position definitely gives us an opportunity to organise and develop our national strength, which alone would enable us to undo a wrong we want speedily undone. Those who raise the cry against the Congress acceptance on nation's behalf the British proposals of June 3rd are deliberately nood winking the gullible public in regard to several important and prime facters of our political situation. The most signigicant of them are:

(1) The Indian National Congress was all along pledged to the principle of self-determination of geographical areas.

(2) Under stress of abnormal and insufferable circumstances, it was the minorities in the Punjab and Bengal, Hindus and Sikhs alike, that forced the Congress to give its consent to the division of those Provinces. They argued that this alone would arrest their political extinction.

(3) The rejection of the proposals of June 3 would have meant the continuance of the British rule in this land, perhaps in its much worse form, who knows for how many years!

(4) In the eventuality of the British rule continuing in these circumstances, there would be bloody struggle, not between the foreign rulers and the nationalist forces, but between the Hindus and the Muslims on poisonous communal grounds, which was bound to spell disaster for this country. That would be playing the game of Imperialism.

(5) Lastly, those who shout loudest today against the division were not only not with us in the freedom's fight, but most of them were ranged against us, actively helping the Government when patriots were rotting in jails.

Inescapable Conclusion

The objective weighing of those incontestable historical facts must lead every unbiassed person to the only inescapable conclusion that the Congress stand under these circumstances regarding the present political proposals was very far-reaching and diplomatic. Thus we are accepting Dominion Status on the 15th of August instead of full and complete national independence to which India of the Congress persuasion has pledged itself, is also a meaningless talk more meant for propaganda than for conveying a correct estimate of facts.

The nation is free on the 16th of August to declare itself an Independent Democratic Republic in terms of the Objective Resolution unanimously passed by the Constituent Assembly only a few days ago. It is only the cowards and cynics who imagine even for a moment that the Indian Union is going to remain a Dominion for any length of time. The Congress will be most anxious to see that the interim period is as short as possible.

If the nation grasps the unique opportunity which will present itself on the 15th of August and uses it in developing and consolidating our national strength and solidarity, our voice is bound to be heard even by those who appear to be our enemies for the time being. Neither depression, sullenness nor cheap heroics are going to make us either strong or united. Our inherent strength and determination alone are going to lead us to that unity.

Let us, therefore, on this supreme and solemn occasion, lift up our hearts in the fullest faith of our nation's destiny and make the 15th of August a starting point of a new national struggle of a liberated land.

CONSTITUTION OF FREE INDIA

(Continued from Page 16.)

than a gilded rubber stamp is to read constitutional history too wishfully.

The position far from being improved is rendered exclusive by enabling him to use power only in an emergency which he can declare at his discretion. And to hope that because he is elected, and much more curiously and wrongly that because he is outside parties, he will be conforming in turn with both the parliamentary and the presidential models is to ignore the inherent logic of political forces and constitutional powers. In view of the obvious hesitation of leaders of Sardar Patel's calibre on this much debated question it is to be hoped that, the position will be reviewed.

The new constitution is going to be the fundamental law of our government and as we have made it we all must welcome it. Let us not, however knowingly leave cause for desiring an early revision.

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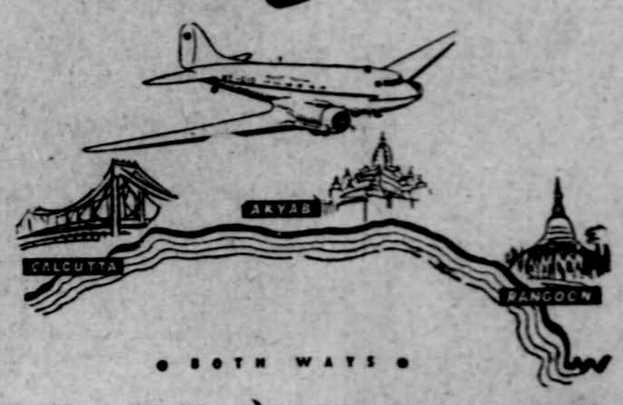

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GREETINGS FROM FAR AND NEAR

Chant For Indian Freedom

'India be free!'
Wont that be
A Himalayan dream?
How fantastic,
How absurd an idea,
That never occurred to me!
Two scores of years ago,
Aged people seemed to agree.
'Freedom', a gentle voice
Whispered that it should be the goal;
It first sprang from
A tiny body but with a great soul.
It started as a gentle wave
But finally made the entire Indian Ocean roll.
Just as one wave after another in the ocean,
So moved on national aspirations unbound;
Imbued with the spirit of freedom,
The forces of revolution gathered around.
Suddenly and incredibly triumphed Wisdom
Wherein East and West met on a common ground.
What a miracle,
That Independence can be
Witnout a War!
History will tell you,
It has never happened before.
Be brave, forward,
Riders on the chariot of Time!
While approaching the mountain peak,
Redouble your efforts to climb!
Unfailingly will you arrive at your Ideal,
Lofty and beautiful, noble and sublime!

To the cause of Indian Freedom this poem is fervently dedicated, on this glorious day of the fifteenth of August, 1947, as a message of good will from China.

CHIA-LUEN LO,
Ambassador of The Republic of China.

K. Natarajan.

"India is divided but only to be re united more closely than ever. The special mission of the BOMBAY CHRONICLE is actively to promote this process. Every moment since the Independence Act was enacted, we realise how artificial is the division and how impossible it would be to keep the two parts distinct."

FREEDOM CALLS
FOR
CONSECRATED SERVICE

On this auspicious day we pledge ourselves anew to the publication of increasingly better books in the service of the Nation.

Hind Kitabs Limited
BOMBAY.

The People Are Immortal

By G. M. Syed

I AM a citizen of Pakistan and I look ahead with great expectancy to its fulfilment of the high hopes that it has aroused in our down-trodden masses.

There are some people who have seen in the partition of India a sure sign of ruination, a permanent state of mutual war-fare and growth of rival Fascisms in the two neighbouring Dominions. I can only hope that the future that lies ahead will falsify these gloomy forecasts.

It is the masses who have been behind the Congress and the League in achieving their respective goals. It is inconceivable that the true urges of the masses can be for ever frustrated and the early realization of their hopes and dreams indefinitely postponed, just because there exists in our midst an open conspiracy of the upper classes to keep the masses divided and permanently engaged in mutual hatred and fratricidal blood-shed.

RISE TO THE OCCASION

I feel confident that the genius of our great people is bound to rise to the occasion and assert itself in a firm resolve to build the future on the foundations of true freedom and justice. Instead of mourning over the tragedies of the past, it should be the sacred duty of all lovers of Freedom, both in Pakistan and Hindustan, to see that our future is moulded on the basis of a healthy rivalry between the two new States, a running race, indeed, as to which one is going to reach the earlier its final destiny of a full-fledged Socialist State, assuring justice and equality to its citizens and holding forth a comradely hand of hope and help to the down-trodden, exploited people all over the world.

Whatever may be our private feelings and sentiments, let us not forget that although India has been partitioned, the common people shall live for ever. The people are immortal, in every land, as history has shown from time to time. August 15th only marks the day of a fresh resolve on the part of our common people to rid themselves of their indigenous enemies, even as they have subdued the foreign enemy.

J. P. Galacher, M.P.

"I welcome the new opportunity provided by the transfer of power to Indian people. A great step has been won, but it is only a stage on the way to real freedom and independence. Hindus, Muslims, Untouchables, Sikhs and others must now recognise their common brotherhood, heal the wounds of the past and bridge all sectarian divisions, and, as a united people, take their place in the vanguard of human progress."

Inspiring Messages Of Goodwill On Free India's Birthday

Cole's Message

"I am delighted to have the opportunity of sending a message of goodwill to the people of India on their achieving independence, which I as an Englishman have always done my best to claim for them as their right.

The people of India and those who have charge of their fortunes have great problems to face, above all the supreme problem of lifting the ordinary man and woman, peasant and worker, out of their primary poverty to which they have been hitherto condemned.

May they find the right leaders and the right balance between agricultural and industrial development, and between claims of economic advancement and of other means to good life, such as health services education, political training in arts of self-government, toleration based on good fellowship and mutual respect.

I know Pt. Nehru to be a man with qualities needed not merely for leadership, but what is much more, for right leadership with good life for the mass of people as the supreme end in view.

I hope—I must express how much I hope — that despite the past, the advance of the Indian people will be made in friendly and equal association with the British people which have today problems of their own hardly less difficult, than those which confront India.

There is among the British scientists a great fund of goodwill towards the Indian people and I hope that Indians who have much to forgive, will not in resentment at the past throw their goodwill away. I don't say they will. The omens are a good deal better than before. Let us two people, across a world grown small, with mutual respect wish each other the best of the future and as much goodsense as it is given man to show in the management of our common affairs.

G. D. H. COLE.

Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister, Bihar

"It is in the fitness of thing that the BOMBAY CHRONICLE, which has all along valiantly and fearlessly espoused the cause of the freedom of India should bring out a special supplement to celebrate the momentous occasion, when the people of India will be vested with the power of governing themselves and of shaping their own destiny. The 15th of August will mark the turning point in the history of India, as it heralds the dawn of India's freedom.

Sir Chunilal Bhaichand Mehta

"August 15th will be a Red Letter Day in the history of India—that is, the day on which India attains freedom and independence.

Eamon De Valera, President Of The Irish Free State

"Ireland wishes India god-speed and hopes that in freedom the Indian people will find unity, prosperity and happiness for themselves and an opportunity to play a significant part in promoting the well-being of the whole human race."

Azikiwe, President, National Council Of Nigeria, Cmeroons.

"On behalf of 30 million people of Nigeria, whose cause is now being espoused in London by a political delegation of seven, I offer congratulations to the people of India on this historic occasion when they have arrogated to themselves the right to an independent national existence.

"The experience of India will be an inspiration to us and a lamp to guide our feet in the path of Freedom."

M. Kratochvil, Ambassador Of Czechoslovakia, London

"As the representative of a small nation which has always been progressively minded, I am glad to hear of progress made by other nations.

"I wish your people every possible success in future."

EDITH MOORE,

"We salute the progressive leaders of India whose constructive tasks are clear. We salute them as architects of new India, which ceasing to be called the brightest jewel in the British crown, may become that brightest of treasures—the crown to best of man's endeavours."

Janaganamana

Janaganamana Adhinayaka Jayahe!
Bharata-bhagya-vidhata!
Punjaba Sindha Gujerata Marathe
Dravida Utkala Vanga
Vindhya Himachala Jamuna Ganga
uchchala jaladhitaranga
Tava shubha name jage,
Tava shubha ashisa maye,
Vahe tava jaya gatha!
Janagana Mangaladayaka Jayahe!
Bharata-bhagya-vidhata!
Jayahe! Jayahe! Jayahe!
Jaya jaya jaya jayahe!

B. G. Kher, Premier, Bombay

"Sir Phiroze Shah Mehta who founded the "Bombay Chronicle" was one of the pioneers of the nation's struggle for freedom. After years of struggle India has now emerged into the light of freedom.

"On this day of rejoicing we should do well to ponder deeply on how best we can make use of our liberty so that our country may become strong and prosperous in order to play a worthy part in the affairs of the world. By presenting facts fairly and truthfully and guiding public opinion in constructive and fruitful channels the Press can educate the public to understand and exercise their new responsibilities in a fitting manner. I wish the "Bombay Chronicle" and its readers a bright happy future."

Dr. M. D. Gilder, Minister, Bombay

"India has gained its independence by means which are unique in the history of the world. It is now for us to see that the independence so uniquely won and preserved untarnished for all time and is used for the betterment of the condition of the common man.

"The task before us is Himalayan and cannot be accomplished unless we —each one of us—unite and pull together. Now that we have the power to do good, let us rejoice, let us forget our temporary differences, and let us all co-operate in creating a new economic order in which equality of opportunity shall prevail and every one shall be assured of the necessities of life. Thus shall India be able to hold up her head in the County of Nations and point the way to others."

L. M. Patil, Minister, Bombay

"It is in the fitness of things that your paper is bringing out a special supplement to celebrate the momorable event of the ushering of the complete Indian Independence. It is after constant toil and innumerable hardships of thousands of our countrymen that India has achieved her independence."

K. M. Munshi

"Independence has come sooner than anybody dreamt of. It is now for us to be ready to be worthy of it, to be strong enough to keep it and to use it with the best advantage to humanity and the cause of freedom. It is necessary that we should shed the old outlook and develop the discipline and strength of mind by which alone strong and great nations are made."

Lord Halifax, Ex-Viceroy, India

"The new governments in India start on the path of independence with warm good wishes of all peoples of the Commonwealth."

Pressing Problems

(By ALLADI KRISHNASWAMI)

The 15th of August 1947 is a great day in the History of India, being the day of emancipation of an ancient people from foreign domination for over a century and a half.

It marks the crowning achievement of the long struggle for freedom fought under the banner of successive political leaders, the greatest of them all being of course Mahatma Gandhi under whose leadership for the last 27 years the country has fought its way to complete freedom with the weapon of non-violence.

The Indian Independence Act also redounds to the credit of Great Britain and its present leadership. With grace and foresight Britain has registered the "Quit India" demand of a nation claiming freedom as its birthright. This moment of India's emancipation may be to some extent marred by the thought of some parts of India going out of the Indian Union.

Hope Of Re-union

If only India can muster her material and moral resources and if prince peasant and labourer can harness their energies to the task of strengthening the bonds of union in India there is every hope that ere long the separated parts of India will come into closer relationship with the rest of India.

If we have not the political vision the strength and the will to consolidate our forces, we will not deserve the freedom that has been won.

The National Government of India has intricate problems to solve arising out of the independence the country has achieved and the partition arrangements between India and Pakistan. It has to shoulder a great responsibility and it will be judged by the measures it undertakes for the relief of economic distress, for the increased production and output of national wealth and for the equitable adjustment of apparently conflicting social and economic interests in the country.

The Dominion Constitution gives the new government and the Legislature ample power to undertake measures of a far-reaching character. Even the transition from the Dominion status to the Republican constitution and the republican constitution being given effect to afford to wait until urgent measures for the alleviation of suffering and distress are taken on hand and pushed through.

JAI HIND

To India's Flag

Proud ensign of a vast Dominion,
Unfurled, unchallenged, high, today you stand,
Waving from housetops in that fateful land,
Proclaiming Freedom's goal through suffering won!
For you to India have rotted father son
And daughter, patriots breath a ruthless hand,
Have bled for you, and, rallying in a band,
Have braved the bludgeon, bayonet and the gun.
Well may you sport your saffron, white and green,
For the fetters of a foreign rule no more
Shall hold the people down. Sunrise has come!
If any doubt, let him behold the scene,
With echo answering from land and shore
The rousing strains of "Vande Mataram."

S. R. D.

15th August 1947.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad's Message

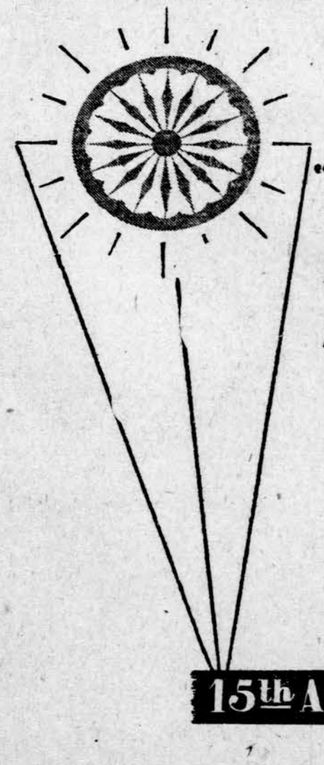
Thanks to Mahatma Gandhi and the great national leaders who preceded him, India too has taken its share in the historic pilgrimage of human freedom. The victory against foreign domination which we celebrate today is the nation's victory through its own efforts.

But it is not the end of our job. Millions face privation, hunger and disease and to conquer these, petty quarrels will need to be forgotten and sectional self-interest laid aside. India faces a colossal task in harnessing the enthusiasm and energy of the people to the requirements of an Independent Nation.

Given the goodwill and co-operation of the people and the press, we are confident of our ability to surmount these difficulties.

Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, Governor, Sind.

"The complete transfer of power to the people of India is undoubtedly the most unique event in the history of our country.



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IT IS A PRIVILEGE TO BE ALIVE TODAY....

By the Hon. Mr. C. H. BHABHA Member for Commerce, Works, Mines And Power, Government of India

THE 15th August 1947 will be remembered by prosperity as the most fateful day in the long recorded history of India, as it marks the end of an epoch and the dawn of a new era.

When the simple ceremony of transfer of power—possibly the biggest and the least bloody of all transfers in human history—from British to Indian hands takes place on the morning of 15th August in the precincts of India's Constituent Assembly, many will recall the memorable "Quit India" resolution of August 1942 which today stands fully vindicated.

When on February 20, 1947 the British Prime Minister made his "Quit India" statement in the House of Commons fixing June 1948 as the dateline for the complete transfer of power to Indian hands, even the most optimistic of us never thought it possible that we would be able to celebrate our Independence Day on August 15th, 1947. Although it is said of the Britishers that when they adopt a particular line of policy in this country, it is not a willing surrender of power or authority but only a response—and a partial response at that—to the historical necessities of the case, we must congratulate the present British Government and especially Lord Mountbatten, the last of the Viceroys, on their bold and statesmanlike decision to quit India.

Day Of Rejoicing

This is a day of universal rejoicing for the people of India whose right to be masters of their fate is declared with a new emphasis. New hopes are kindled new prospects are open before them. On this day too our National Flag, the symbol of India's sovereignty, has come to its own.

Ours is a hard-won freedom and on this historic occasion we have to remember with gratitude all those great souls who toiled and suffered for the freedom of this country, for the dawn of this day. Thousands died for the cause of our freedom, still more thousands suffered great privations, imprisonment, exile, etc. and we are today tasting the fruits of their labours. It recalls to our mind our mighty and glorious past when we were free from foreign domination and our recent long struggle to wrest freedom—the birthright of every Nation—from the British hands.

This is, therefore, a fit occasion to pay our homage to all those of our countrymen, high and low, past and present, but for whose great sacrifices and courageous leadership the passion for political freedom which has been running high for the last half-a-century or so would not have been roused in this country. We have had a galaxy of stars in our political firmament and on this joyous occasion should we not pay our humble homage to them all, and especially to Mahatma Gandhi—the Father and Architect of our Nation—"who has led us unfalteringly for over a generation through darkness and sorrow to the threshold of our freedom."

It is our greatest good fortune that he is now with us to share the fruits of his incessant labour in the freedom's cause. It is an equally pleasant thought that his wise counsel will, as always, happily be with us in the momentous years to come.

Facts Must Be Faced

The critics may ask whether we are justified in celebrating this day at all having regard to the fact that India has been cut up into parts, and will still remain in the British Commonwealth. As for this latter fear, it is left entirely to ourselves to decide whether or not to retain the British connection, and the Constituent Assembly, which is now hard at work in fashioning out a new constitution to suit the genius of our great Nation, will no doubt furnish the answer to this question in due course. Dominion Status does not, therefore, in any way affect the content of our freedom.

As for the vivisection of the country while all of us deeply deplore it, we have to face facts squarely and accept the inevitable. It is a paradox that while the great achievement of British rule in India was to weld it into a political and economic unit, the culmination of that rule should be preceded by a division of the country. But there is no need to be despondent. Live and let live has been the spirit of our country for centuries past and we may still hope that the seceders will see reason for coming into our fold again.

This is no time for bickering or for brooding over the shameful, degrading and revolting violence of the recent months in various parts of the country. This is a time for dynamic action, as the problem awaiting solution at the hands of the new Government are manifold. Let us therefore bend all our efforts to the task ahead of us, forgetting all past bitterness and recrimination, and in a true spirit of concord, amity and harmony. Let it not be said when the history of the present period comes to be written that any section of our countrymen betrayed the cause of the country for the sake of its own selfish gain. It is rightly said that without unity power is a phantom and freedom a farce.

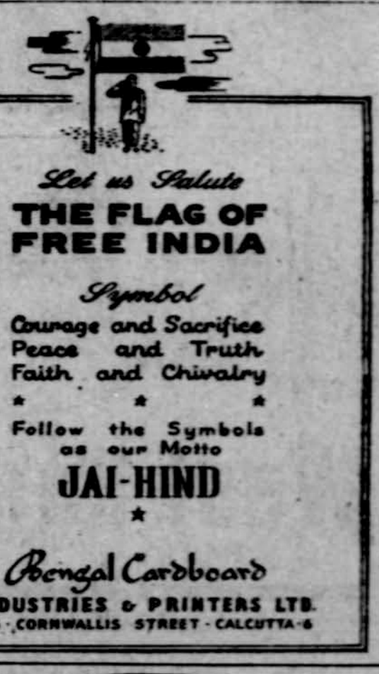
Unique Opportunities

I take this opportunity of appealing to my countrymen to close their ranks and play a worthy part in building up this great country by improving the lot of the downtrodden masses and evolving a juster social order. I would make a special appeal to the youth of this land to play a very important part in this. This older generation will soon pass away and the youth will step into the breach.

It will have unique opportunities of showing its worth in this period of national stress. It is a privilege to be alive today. History is being made before our eyes and the present-day youth will live to see changes, political and social, greater than any which have taken place in our country within living memory. It is the duty of our youth to give an informed decisive lead to the people.

In the international plane too, India can make a distinctive contribution to the progress of the world. A free and independent India, with its great resources of men and material, can contribute mighty share to the greatest of all tasks—making the world a place of peace, of progress and of for all humanity.

I have great faith in India's future. Let us face it with quiet confidence and determination.



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APPOINTMENT WITH FREEDOM

NOW is the appointed Day. Now is the day of salvation.

If we start right, we can continue right. On every one of us who lives in India, be it in the Indian Union or Pakistan, there is a personal responsibility to start this day with our thoughts right. For it is out of our collective thinking that will spring the actions and attitudes of ministers and legislatures, masters and men, communities and trades unions and chambers of commerce.

By Arthur Moore

Irishmen are notoriously provocative and Arthur Moore is no exception. In his time, he provoked most of those he came in contact with—not without ultimate benefit to them! Since his retirement from the editorship of the "Statesman" (due, it is said to the ire of Clive Street!), however, he has mellowed into a kindly friend, philosopher and guide of India—a sort of Old Moore of New Delhi. In this article he discusses the breath-taking events that have taken place in this country during the last year and counsels us not to be dismayed by the communal passions that rage today: No country has been entirely free from them. He also discusses our future foreign policy and particularly our relations with our powerful neighbour—Soviet Russia.

Long have I lived and hoped for the day when Greater India, an India that includes what was British India and the Indian States, should take its place in the equal councils of a world conscious of essential unity in its admired diversity, conscious of the truth that we are members one of another though every member has his own function and none is in all respects like any other. To me such a day was to be the fitting climax of the intertwined story of Britain and India, the fulfilment of Britain's mission, a mission carried out under God, with many failures to sense its greatness, with some inevitable personal yieldings to the lure of pomp and circumstance, of the pride and glory of this world and the love of money; but for all that a mission writ in the stars of east and west, and discharged from the British Throne and the High Court of Parliament downwards with a large and steady faithfulness, through ever rarer good report and ever increasing ill report.

Now the day has come, and what was British India is resolved into two states. Let us waste no tears on that. The essential thing is to preserve and foster the unity of systems and of outlook that exists. Let us abhor the awful example of Europe, which is a recurring cockpit because it lacks good Europeans, and has only good Frenchmen, Germans, Spaniards Russians and the rest.

Break-up And Re-assembly

Consider the case of Russia. Under the Tsars there was a single vast country, such as India has been under British rule. Then came war and revolution, and new sovereign states were carved out,—Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia as well as a great Poland. Western Europe in the name of democracy resisted and resents Russian afforts to draw them back into a federation of republics. That is because of the ideological warfare between the revolution in Russia and capitalism cum social democracy in the west. But the Indian Union and Pakistan start together without a revolution, and with equal goodwill from the rest of the world.

Let us not build the ideological fence that separated the young Baltic States and Poland from Russia and produced eager partisanship for one side or the other in great countries who normally should not meddle in eastern Europe at all. The sure way to create that eagar partisanship would be for Indian spokesmen to use threatening language, or seem to be exerting economic and military pressure. The lines are drawn between the two states, the issue is settled.

Let us start as two self-respecting states, respecting also each other, and inheriting common systems of administration and of handling problems. Let us have as many and as long standstill agreements as possible.

Remember how easily the separation of Burma and India was effected in 1935, with a standstill tariff agreement for five years.

Indian Commonwealth

And what is true of the Indian Union and Pakistan is true of the Indian States. If some States wish to retain their new independance at any rate for a time, what is the harm provided they remain good Indians and through standstill agreements they preserve the unity of Greater India? Such States are far bigger in area and population than several of those independent European countries that the shortage of good Europeans necessitates.

Let us get back to brotherhood.

Consider the British Commonwealth of Nations. The nations are separate sovereign states, but they have a common as well as a separate citizenship, a common defence policy for their separate armies, navies and air forces, common postage and telegraph rates between themselves, and communications and tariffs planned in consultation. Let us, while we still lack a Federation of Greater India, produce our own Indian Commonwealth. I have no doubt that the British Commonwealth will eventually federate itself, so urgent is the need for closer coordination in economic and foreign affairs; but if separatism is still so strong in the British Commonwealth, need we be dismayed that the Indian sub-continent is not at once ready for federation?

It is good to aim, at perfection, but let us not interpret as failures the delays which the time factor causes.

Communalism In Britain

Consider the case of the United Kingdom. Ten years before I was born, no Roman Catholic could go to Oxford or Cambridge, nor though Ireland was a predominately Catholic country could he go to Dublin University. Fifty years before I was born Catholics were just obtaining the right to vote and even to sit in Parliament but the vote itself was the privilege of only a small percentage of the adult population. Much of my boyhood was spent in a pocket borough which returned a member to the House of Commons from an electoral roll of perhaps two thousand people; while great manufacturing cities such as Birmingham and Manchester were by comparision grossly underrepresented.

In 1905 I had a conversation at Salonika with Hilmi Pasha, the Turkish Governor General of the Macedonian vilayets. We talked of the terrible animosity between Serbs and Bulgars and Greeks, and I made bold to put forward the argument we are familiar with in India, that possibly the presence of a foreign ruling power (in this case the Turks) contributed to the struggle. Each subject nationality had their own form of religious orthodoxy and even bishops and archbishops were active in organising murder bands of *komitajis* who forcibly converted villages.

Hilmi Pasha vigorously rebutted the suggestion that these feuds were in any way connected with the Turks, or that there existed any Turkish imperial policy of "Divide and Rule." Later he visited England and being a man of intense intellectual curiosity he took every opportunity of studying English institutions. His researches led him to the Kensington Workhouse Infirmary. There his observant eyes noticed one lot of old women had tea at separate tables from the rest. He enquired the reason, and was told that it was found best to separate Protestants from Catholics as they were apt to quarrel. With a twinkle in his eye he retailed this incident to me and said "*Vous voyez, Monsieur Moore, c'est precisement la meme chose a Londres et en Macedoine.*"

Irish Example

Having been born in Ulster I know something of communal riots and passions. My father, an Irish parson, was counted dangerously liberal by some of his congregation because he was on social terms with the parish priest, and even took me, a small boy, to a funeral mass for a priest. My mother, who descended from small Huguenot settlers in the west of Ireland, was a good and devout woman but less advanced. She believed that all Catholics were inherently bad men who after death would burn forever in everlasting fire; and I think she felt that she could spot a Catholic at fifty yards. In the country parish where I lived between the ages of three and eleven there had been a pitched battle some years earlier between Orange and Green, which is still celebrated, though with diminishing ardour, by the Orangemen of Ulster as a glorious victory.

So let us not be dismayed by the fierceness of the communal passions that rage in India to-day or by the terrible events of the past year. Time is a sure healer, and we cannot cut out the time factor just because we have read a lot of liberal stuff in books or because religious persecution has died out in Britain.

Here in India we are fortunate in having a long start. We have had no penal laws against Moslems or Hindus or Sikhs such as the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries produced in Britain. We begin with religious freedom for all, and with the concept of the higher unity of all true religions; of one God and Father of us all. Also the pace is faster now, and we can quickly reach the attitude of tolerance that grew so slowly but has now flowered so finely in Britain.

Trouble Ahead

Great and immediate troubles of a non-communal kind confront the Indian Union and Pakistan alike. To their solving they will be forced to bend their common energies. Let me list some of these problems.

FIRST, there is the root difficulty that the Indian Peninsula, like Great Britain, does not grow enough food to keep alive its population. In the past Britain solved the problem by large food imports for which she easily paid by exporting manufactures and by services, and in any case the rate of increase in her population was slackening. India solved her problem by progressively lowering the diet of the masses and simultaneously aggravated the problem by increasing her population at a high rate. Year by year she has been drawing nearer and nearer to mass starvation.

Western Pakistan is the only considerable self sufficing and comparatively well-nourished administrative area. Eastern Pakistan and the Indian Union are faced with a grim winter prospect. From the outside war-shattered world little food can be expected. Burma, the nearest country with a rice surplus, is in turmoil. Harmonious relations between Western Pakistan and the rest of India, and free trade in goods and services alone can mitigate the coming ordeal of the masses.

SECONDLY, we must face the fact that this shrinkage of food coincides with a revolutionary stirring amongst the workers. They will insistently press their demands, not merely for the maintenance of the old standard but for a rising standard in food, in housing, and other necessities and amenities, and for educational facilities. Amongst the "Haves" there is also an awakening of the social conscience and they will be confronted by the "Have-nots" with their own lavish promises of wealth and freedom and full employment for all. The new states may therefore expect some large-scale strikes and industrial unrest, and every wage concession won by workers in one part of the country will have reactions elsewhere.

For their mutual benefit, let us have healthy competition between all the provinces as to which can do most to increase the fertility of the rura soil, to industrialise the urban areas, and to give to every child in town and country at least the power to wn and read and write.

Foreign Policy

THIRDLY, there is the certainty of new fateful contacts with the outer world. In the great solid Eurasian continental land mass that stretches from Lisbon to Kamchatka and from the Arctic Ocean to Comorin, Russia to-day is incomparably the strongest Power, militarily and ideologically. She is India's neighbour, while Britain with whom India does for stronger cultural and politico-scientific links is far away and America further still. For generations the British, suspicious of Russian designs on India, have on security grounds refused to allow Russians to visit the North-West Frontier Province. We may be sure that not many weeks will pass before the physical nearness of the Soviet Republics to the new independent States of the Indian Peninsula becomes more manifest than when India's foreign relations were conducted from London.

Obviously the inhabitants of the Indian Peninsula have strong reasons for being on good terms with such a powerful nation as Russia. On no account must they find themselves in a military camp definitely aligned against Russia, if unfortunately for the world such a camp were to come into being.

Here there is need for us to watch our step, and a close understanding between Pakistan and the Indian Union is essential. It is reasonable to assume that Russia will seek to draw the Indian Peninsula into her orbit of influence in what the Soviet leaders regard as an economic struggle with the USA and in a lesser degree with Britain and Western Europe.

What are the prospects of a good understanding with Russia?

A strong point is the Soviet's encouragement of nationality. Ever since the Oriental Conference at Baku in 1921 it has been a settled policy of the Bolshiviks to encourage national movements in Asia. In 1942, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the revolution, Stalin stated his ideals and war aims:—

Abolition of racial exclusiveness, equality of nations and inviolity of their territory, liberation of enslaved nations and restoration of sovereign rights, the right of every nation to arrange its affairs as it wishes.

Observe the emphasis on sovereignty. And to-day at every international conference the Soviet delegates invoke the principle of national sovereignty to veto proposals for common action by the nations. But there is a contradiction here; because Russia's respect for the sovereignty of other nations is not sufficient to prevent her from dictating the foreign policy of her neighbours. Czechoslavakia accepted France's invitation to consider the Marshall plan, but had to withdraw because of Russia's displeasure. Finland, Hungary and the Balkan countries have also had to debar themselves from the prospect of [illegible] aid in reconstruction, because of Russian opposition. Even Sweeden made her attendance at the Paris conference conditional on avoidance of offence to Russia.

A Common Fallacy

Despite this paradox, it is clear that Russia will invoke to the utmost the principle of absolute national sovereignty. Wendell Wilkie made the shrewd comment on Stalin's statement of policy which I have quoted that it and the Atlantic Charter had a common fallacy: they both forecast the re-creation of Europe in its old divisions of small nations, each with its own political economic and military sovereignty. He advocated the recreation of the separate nations as political units, but not as economic and military units. Indeed the pressure that Russia is able to exert on the nations of eastern Europe and that America is able to exert on the nations of western Europe proves that sovereignty has forced limitations and that no nation can stand alone.

Does this mean that India must choose between Russia and the West. By no means. All the evidence goes to show that Russia's admiration for nationality is not entirely lipservice. She has nowhere been militarily agressive, and she is responsible for the creation of numbers of new republics on none of which has she imposed economic imperialism. The new wealth of central Asia gives local prosperity to Turkomans and Tartars and is not drained in dividends to Moscow. The subservience of war-ravaged eastern Europe to Russian foreign policy is easily understood, but were there more spirit left in the Czechs and Hungarians, this subservience might not be required.

It is in marked contrast to the firmer fronts maintained by Asiatic countries. Turkey, Persia and Afghanistan, militarily weaker though they be, have so far kept the reigns of foreign policy in their own hands and Russia has recognised their national right. There is no reason to doubt that the Indian Union and Pakistan can do the same, and that Russia, if she is convinced that they are not in a hostile camp, will accept that position.

And beyond this horizon India has a far higher mission. It is for her to convince the Soviets that this doctrine of unbridled sovereignty is the seed of all wars, and will no longer serve. The world is one, and the nations can only find their peace by delegating some of their sovereign powers to a federal world government deriving its authority from the citizens of the world.

Pleasant are the ways of peace. Let us pursue her paths in all things. Now is the appointed time.

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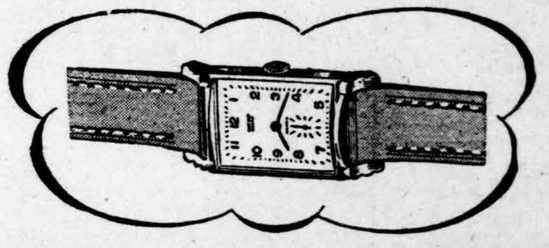

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On this historic day, India salutes to the sacred memory of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose!

In order to insure our freedom, says the author of this thought provoking article, we must have a School for—Leaders!

ON August 15th, 1947, India has a rendezvous with destiny. There will be great rejoicing all over the country on the day India crosses the threshold from tutelage to freedom. India will be drunk on that day with the spirit of the coming of age.

But to my mind, August 16th, 1947, will be more important. For on that morning after the night before we will get down to serious business. The sense of new responsibility will sober our celebration-excited nerves. On that very day, and not a day later, we must rush to Freedom Insurance Company, Inc., to take a policy in favour of our new acquisition. Freedom is not a state of affair but a living process.

Freedom has to be won anew each day. Freedom is the way free people live.

Let us have clear thinking on the point. Our country, graduating to freedom, will stand in no immediate danger of invasion by another. The day is long past when one country can physically annex another in isolation. We have no enemy outside our gates lurking to pounce upon us as soon as the British might is withdrawn. The enemy, if any, is within our gates. We have to insure ourselves against ourselves. In other words, the common man of the country has to be vigilant all the time so that the alien exploiters are not replaced by swadeshi ones.

First Freedom

Power corrupts. The only guarantee against the corruption of power is the freedom of thought on the part of a country's citizens. The priority of the mind over the body is truer in India than in most of the countries of the world. The plant of democracy has just taken roots in our soil and it will be a long time before it becomes a bing banyan tree, sturdy enough to weather the winds of greed and megalomania. Unless there is democratic thinking in the country, no amount of blind action will avail.

On the morrow of independence, our first need will be for a stable government which can bring to our land peace and increased production. Before we get into an ideological battle, we will have to feed our masses and clothe them and shelter them. It is not a job that can be done overnight. People will be impatient. No Government can satisfy all the people. We will have to learn, therefore, how to be generous in our judgment of the men who hold the helm of the Ship of the State. They have inherited an unholy mess, and all of them cannot be super-men. They will need our support, and, above all, they will need our faith.

It is going to be hard for us because a tradition has grown up in the country to be hostile to men in position of power. We will have to grant our own leaders many loyalties that we refused to grant alien masters. Indeed we must goad our leaders, but we cannot oppose them during this period of transition.

Need Of New Parties

On the morrow of independence, we will need more than one political party. Democracy dies where one party holds sway. This will be the crucial test. For we have fought a long and bitter struggle during which we have learned to distrust all parties but one—the Congress. But our exclusive devotion to the Congress, we must now realise, was due to the fact that until now the Congress was not a party but a movement. It was a popular front behind which many schools of thought made a common cause against an alien authority. That movement has now fulfilled its function of making India free of the foreign yoke.

On the morrow of independence, the Congress becomes a party and stops being a movement. And that contingency calls for the formation of other parties representing different political and economic programmes.

These new parties will partly arise from the Congress ranks. They will embrace also those who never gave the Congress their unflinching loyalty. It appears that the Congress will lose to the Right as well as to the Left—to the Conservatives on the one hand, and to the radicals on the other. Yet the Congress will continue to hold the balance for some time and remain the Middle party.

Free Press—How?

On the morrow of independence, we will need a free press. Now this is a tricky question. Some people will think that our press will become automatically free as soon as alien oppression is eliminated. But it is harder to be independent of our own heroes than of alien rulers. Our press did its patriotic duty by upholding our heroes in whatever stand they took in their battle against imperialists. It became a habit, and habits die-hard. If our press continues to be the self-appointed publicity bureau of our heroes, it will fail to do its duty by democracy. It is difficult to tolerate criticism during wartime, but constructive criticism becomes an obligation during peacetime.

The press is the mightiest corrective of absolutism—but only when it is free. Our editors will have to show as much courage against our own heroes as they showed against the alien rulers. It may be that some of our own heroes will find it a bitter pill—accustomed as they are to blind and unquestioning obedience. But it is the right of a democratic people to push their leaders around. And no man with a God-complex is worthy of being a leader in democracy.

This clinches my point about types and types of hero-worship. During a struggle, whether violent or non-violent, we need the army mentality. We have to have a general who becomes the embodiment of all our aspirations and thus invokes our unflinching loyalty. So our hero-worship takes an intensive turn, and we begin to be swayed by fewer and fewer people until there remains only one man like the top of a pyramid. We see his face everywhere, and we endow him with all the virtues we can think of. No one else would satisfy us, so he has to give a lead in all the directions, including those in which he is a novice or ignoramus.

Heroes All

During normal times when we are building a democratic State, however, our hero-worship should take an extensive trend instead of an intensive one. We must have many many more heroes until there comes a time when we will have as many heroes as citizens; democracy means the dignity of the common men. And we must have heroes in fields other than politics, as in America; in art, literature, business, industry, labour movement, cinema, sports, etc. Here the press of the country can render a service by making new leaders out of new men. At present each day our front pages print the same faces and the utterances of the same handful of people.

Enterprising reporters will find that there is news in other people also, and that the readers will read that news. The more firmly rooted a democracy becomes, the lesser becomes the hankering for vicarious edification: the more important becomes the common man, the lesser is his need for identification with an extraordinary man to feel puffed up. In America, in consequence, the books and newspaper reports that tell of how the average man lives are as popular as the stories about the doings of the great.

Some thinkers might like to cry out at this point that the extensive trend of hero worship might prove that democracy is mediocrity. It may be, although a comparison between the existing democracies and autocracies refutes the charge. There is a precaution that we can take to err on the safe side.

We can learn from the late President Roosevelt and have a national "Brain Trust" in charge of development and planning, not only in the industrial field, but also in all other avenues which lead to an intellectual and social renaissance. This will lighten the burden of our overworked and tired leaders and assist those leaders who have no business

(Continued in Col. 5.)

By K. F. Nariman

Halfway House Of Freedom

This is the first time, perhaps in the history of the World, or of any Nation, that the celebrations on the advent of Freedom and Liberty is opposed by a section of the very people, that would ultimately enjoy the benefits of that achievement.

"Independence Days" have been observed and celebrated by so many Nations, big and small, that have gained their goal and objective after years of suffering and sacrifice. But so far as we are aware, that celebration has been universal without being marred by any opposition or obstruction.

An occasion like this should not need any propaganda or planned programme. It must be spontaneous, arising out of an inner urge from all the people and should need no external incentive or goading. Every individual must naturally feel as if some great benefit and gain was conferred on him individually, and it should be observed as the most joyous and auspicious occasion for every family and home.

Value Not Appreciated

Perhaps, because we have achieved this long-delayed goal rather too suddenly and earlier than most of us have dreamt that its real worth and value is not so much appreciated by many.

Whilst it is natural that a very large section of the people should participate in celebrating what is rightly considered as the greatest, most eventful and most glorious day in the History of our country we must also appreciate and try to understand the sentiments and feelings of those who refuse to join and even desire to mar the festive occasion with hostile demonstration. They too are as patriotic and sincere and there is undoubtedly and admittedly dark and tragic side of this apparently cheerful picture.

To them the vivisection of the Motherland is a greater calamity to be deplored and mourned, than partial and distorted liberation. There is undoubtedly a genuine feeling of apprehension, suspense and uncertainty about the future in the minds of minorities of both the communities in the divided States. The Hindus in Pakistan and the Muslims in the Union of India are not at all happy over the change and there are many who would have preferred the existing position to continue wherein they enjoyed at least peace and security.

Appeasement Of Princes

Then again, for the millions of less fortunate Indian State subjects, it is certainly a change for the worse, because hitherto the exercise of Paramountcy was a check against misrule and mismanagement in the States, and many a wrong to the subjects had been righted, and many rulers have been removed and deposed for misconduct and misrule. That powerful and effective check is gone and there is no other similar controlling or supervising agency to take its place. These millions of Indians in the States will continue to be the 'subjects' dominated and ruled despotically as before.

It must be painfully confessed that in the enthusiasm and desire to 'rope in' the rulers by adopting a policy of appeasement towards them, the States subjects have been most cruelly let down.

Their struggle is to continue. Thus, they too certainly have no occasion to rejoice as the Independence Day has no meaning and significance for them.

Similarly, to millions still more unfortunate than the State subjects, starving, naked and dis-housed, what does it matter whether the old Union Jack or the new Tricolour flies over public buildings?

For empty stomachs the only joy is bread; to the naked, a rag of cloth would please more than the blaze of electricity. It would have been better if instead of wasting thousands on illuminations, demonstrations and decorations, these amounts had been spent to give at least one or two square meals to the thousands of these lean skeletons.

Remember The Heroes!

But these very enchanting words "Freedom and Independence" have such a magnetic charm and attraction about them, though mutilated, truncated and incomplete as it is still we cling to this phantom with unbounded joy and enthusiasm. Love for Freedom is really 'blind' and hence it is but natural that those who have clamoured and thirsted for it for years and those who have suffered and sacrificed for the goal and those who have waited for it for generations with patience, should now dance with joy at its advent and welcome its heralded approach.

Lastly, this occasion should be more of sobriety and solemnity, than of empty demonstrations; let us not forget the National Heroes of the past whose suffering and sacrifices and patriotic devotion has brought us today even to this halfway "House of Freedom.'. The foundation and more than half the structure was laid and built by their labours, wisdom and statesmanship; the final 'plastering' and partial dismantling of their work is the result of present leadership.

In the long list of the patriotic band of National Heroes, from Dadabhai Nowrojee downwards, the one outstanding figure of more recent time, Netaji Subhas Bose will stand out prominently as the last of the greatest of commanders who led the triumphant victorious I.N.A. to this much cherished final goal.

It was his militant, practical and rational leadership that had galvanised and electrified the whole country, thus making it too hot an abode for the foreign imperialists to continue any longer.

It was not a mere 1942 slogan of 'Quit India" of the Congress but the more militant marching with the slogan of "Chalo Delhi" of the more recent times, that has ultimately opened the front gates for freedom and evicting the imperialism through the rear door.

It was not at the talk-shop of Consembly but in the battle-fields of Kohima, littered with corpses of Indian, martyrs that freedom battle was fought and won.

The Unknown Heroes

Let us salute on this occasion the sacred spots where these heroes and valiants lie buried, unsung and unhonoured. Let us pay a silent tribute of honour in grateful memory to those "Unknown Warriors" and their great Commander, Netaji Subhas Bose, who literally laid down their dear, precious lives in the Indian War of Independence.

'We shall die even as slaves so that India may live as a free country" was the final message and the clarion call of the Netaji to the marching heroes of I.N.A. This was not an empty slogan-shouting as we are accustomed to hear nowadays. This command and message was literally and faithfully fulfilled and loyally carried out so that thousands did die on the lapse of the motherland at Kohima so that the motherland may be free from bondage.

JAI HIND!

By Dr. Syud Hossain

What Price Freedom?

August 15, 1947, will beyond any doubt go down in Indian history as a memorable date. It ends a chapter which possibly began with the battle of Plassey if not with the granting of the Charter to the East India Company by Queen Elizabeth.

Much water—and much blood—have passed under the Indian bridges during these centuries, and perhaps it is because of that circumstance, and particularly because of the character of the culminating phase of the British connection with India, that many of us today are not in a position properly to assess this great moment. Yet it is essential that we should see this historic event in proper perspective.

What has actually happened definitely falls short of the ideals which Indians have charished from time immemorial, and for realising which recent generations served and sacrificed with complete self-dedication. The goal at which we have aimed was a free and united India. By strange irony the advent of our freedom has marked the destruction of Indian unity in the historical, geographical and cultural sense. Those of us who had identified themselves with the vision of a free and united India cannot be expected to be reconciled to the perverse paradox of division as the condition and prerequisite of freedom.

Emotionally and spiritually the idea is repugnant, but in terms of political realism we must face it.

A MAJOR EVENT

Let us then begin by realising that the actual ending of an alien domination which had wrought havoc with the fundamentals of our national life is a major event. British rule had meant for India not only political enslavement and economic exploitation but above all spiritual emasculation. Under this three-fold scourge the whole vitality of the nation had been ruinously undermined, and it was a miracle that our people did not go under completely. In spite of the general demoralisation we were fortunate in throwing up in every generation, since the establishment and consolidation of British rule, great leaders who held fast with undying faith to the goal of freedom.

It has been said that a slave only truly becomes a slave when he has forgotten his chains. India never forgot her chains. And today I think we may truly claim that we have shed the shackles of an alien bondage.

That is the precise measure of the freedom that we have attained as of today. We should not detract from either the significance or the substance of that very considerable deliverance. Nor, on the other hand, should we seek to magnify its import or its implications. The occasion indeed calls for our taking stock of our national situation with humility and detachment. I can well understand the feelings which have inspired Mahatma Gandhi to declare that Independence Day should be observed with prayerful heart-searching rather than with formal celebrations.

The two things need not be necessarily mutually exclusive. The people of India have been denied any real happiness for so long that it is only right that they should get away from their eternal melancholy if only for a spell of legitimate celebration. And this occasion may well mark the beginning of a more joyous attitude to life on the part of the Indian people. The funereal atmosphere which has hung like a pall on the soul of India must now be dissipated, and Indians should move on to a new plane of normal and wholesome activity and ambition.

TOWARDS CONSTRUCTIVE ENDS

For the last two generations the major part of the national energy of India was devoted to a struggle against the British. It was a necessary but essentially a negative activity. That chapter, one hopes, has ended. Now the national energies of the country must be put to constructive ends. There are vast accumulated arrears of backwardness which must be tackled in the spirit of Crusaders. More than 93% of our people are illiterate; even a larger proportion of them lives habitually on the borderline of destitution. It is obvious that the education and economic rehabilitation of our people must have an urgent priority in the plans of our statesmen.

Not less important in my opinion is the purification of our social system. This problem is perhaps tied up with the two other basic evils to which I have referred, and there may indeed be a kind of a vicious circle embracing all three, acting and reacting upon one another. Even so, it seems worthwhile to face the truth that there is a vast moral confusion and undeniable corruption in our social fabric.

We are living in the 20th century, claiming and craving the institutions and sanctions of modern democracy, and yet the mentality of many of us is medieval if not primitive, our social habits and customs antiquated.

In substantial segments of our emotional and psychological functioning we are saturated with superstition. Just as ignorance is the mother of superstition, so superstition breeds fanaticism, and fanaticism in its turn spawns bigotry, intolerance, narrowness and sectarianism. India has been glutted with the poisonous outcroppings of this foul brood.

FACES TOWARDS DAWN

It is my profound conviction that these inner cankers, long neglected, were more responsible than any other single factor for the political dismemberment of India. Imperialist agents, corrupt politicians and misguided zealots no doubt each played their part in severing Indian unity, but neither individually nor collectively could they have succeeded if it were not for the fact that our whole national organism was already so conditioned as to be responsive to their machinations.

All Indians must now turn their faces to the new dawn. We cannot raise the fair structure of authentic national freedom on rotten foundations. We are henceforth officially going to be called the Union of India. It will not be enough if this Union of India is merely a political device. It must also embody a union of the spirit among those who call themselves Indians. India will never be truly free unless she attains freedom of the mind—until she enthrones Reason in the ordering of her affairs. At present she is hag-ridden with unreason in all its varied manifestations. May she come into her new heritage of freedom with clear eyes, a cleansed soul and dauntless ambition.

(Continued from Col. 7.)

holding portfolios save that we have to give hostages to politics.

National Academy Of Leadership

All that I have suggested will lead to the development of new leadership. In a democracy, there must be a constant flow of talent; there should be what the Italian Sociologist Pareto, calls "the circulation of the elite." Otherwise, a democracy will become moribund. In authoritarian and monarchical States, the sons and the daughters of rulers inherit the togas. In democracies, those only those who have ability and who have sold themselves to the masses step in to fill the vacancies. Therefore, I suggest that we should have a National Academy of Leadership with branches all over the country.

I am not talking about schools that prepare civil servants; civilians administer. I am talking about schools which prepare leaders: the art of leading a mass of men is difficult indeed, and the art of leading a mass of men toward constructive and peaceful ends is more difficult still. If we in India create agencies that prepare young men for the task of leading our people toward peace and prosperity, we will be insuring not only our freedom, but also our democracy.

By Dr. Krishnalal Shridharani

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Conditions And Characteristics Of

A NATIONAL PLAN

WITH the advent of Political Freedom and the establishment of Independent National Sovereignty this country will have immediately to face the problem or national reconstruction in accordance with a preconceived Plan as an urgent demand that must take precedence over every other item in the National programme.

The object of Planning on a large or national scale has generally been accepted to be national self-sufficiency. That aim would be unattainable unless the area under the Plan is sufficiently large, its resources are sufficiently wide, and its numbers sufficiently large to provide all the basic prerequisites which would permit development up to the stage where all the principal requirements of the country may be obtained from its own resources.

The more immediate aims of Planning, e.g. working up all the available resources to their maximum capacity, improving the standard of living among the masses to an optimum level, providing full employment, or establishing a balanced economy, are all incidental to the principal objective given above. Similarly, the specific standards of development, such as a given improvement in the calorific value of food, the amount of clothing, house-room, education, and the like, made available to every citizen, are so many norms, or gauges, to measure the progress of the Plan in all its aspects or items in order to regulate activity to gain the main objective.

Given this main objective of National Planning, it follows that the Plan must be framed for and applicable to as large an area as can possibly be comprised in it. For the larger the area, the greater, presumably, would be the esources, in men and material and consequently easier the attainment of the main objective. Smaller Units, with restricted or deficient resources and manpower, may find it all but impossible even to think of such an objective. They have, therefore, to design their national economy so as to make it dependent on wholehearted international cooperation, which is conditioned by international division of labour and specialisation of functions as between the countries of the world.

No More Self-Sufficiency

That is, undoubtedly, a good means for promoting the well-being of the human race collectively. But so long as national boundaries endure; and so long, moreover, as numbers and resources are mutually unequal and continue to be unevenly distributed all over the globe, attention to local requirements and possibilities by each country seeking its own local self-sufficiency as far as it is feasible is inevitable. Nevertheless the larger the Unit for such development, the greater would be its success in achieving the objective which usually motivates all National Plans.

India, as she was before the 15th of August, was a sufficiently large country, in area as well as population in material resources as well as market potentiality, to hold out every hope for the fullest and easiest attainment of self-sufficiency on a national scale.

As Sir J. Strachey remarked some seventy years ago, there is nothing under the sun which India cannot herself produce from her own resources at a pinch. With the partition of the country, however, this advantage must needs be considerably diminished. It may be that one or other of the two Dominions which now take the place of the country as a whole, may have better resources and potentialities than its neighbour. But for neither singly would it be as easy to attain self-sufficiency as it would have been for both combined, and to maintain it.

Without that any hope of a real improvement in the standard of living amongst the masses of this country would be impossible. Such partition may indeed involve sharp reaction upon the local economy of even the larger Dominion, so that, from being, on the balance, a surplus Unit in international commerce, it may have, for years to come, to face a deficit in the balance of international accounts. This, too, cannot but make the urge for the earliest possible framing and implementation of a National Plan more insistent than ever.

Co-ordination And Integration

Postulating that Plan to be successful must be on as large a scale as possible; and premising that even for the Dominion of India the Plan must be on the nation wide scale, it must not be inferred that, in the desire to see National Planning achieving its goal, the needs or possibilities of any urgent steps within the country would be overlooked or understressed. We cannot ignore the fact that in the Dominion of India, embracing over a million square miles of area, and having over 32 crores of people, the various Units, Provinces as well as States, are at different unequal stages of economic development and social progress.

Their resources in the shape of the initial endowment by Nature differ very considerably 'inter se.' The nature of their local economy also varies substantially. It would, therefore, be unavoidable that the resources and potentialities, the needs as well as requirements, of every Unit, no matter what its stage of development and what its initial endowment, must be attended to the utmost possible, and developed simultaneously in all fields. Without this all-round and intensive, or planned development on the scale and with the objective premised would be impossible.

No doubt the development of local resources and the advance of regional planning would have to be correlated and integrated into a common national plan. The outstanding feature of that Plan will have to be as much the advance of every single Unit as the growth in prosperity of the country as a whole. Coordination and integration will thus have to be the salient conditions of a scientific Plan for the Dominion of India.

The new Constitution of the country being based on the Federal Principle the age-old conflict between the local ambition of each Federating Unit and the comprehensive requirements of the country as a whole may assert itself in the near future. If so, it would prejudice the success of the National Plan as envisaged above. The principle has perhaps for that very reason been accepted, in the formulation of the New Constitution, whereby, in the ultimate analysis, the National Government will have all the residuary powers, functions and authority to deal with such problems. It will also be charged with such functions, powers and authority as would ensure the maintenance of national integrity and provide for its unimpeded development. This does not, of course, mean that, either in preparing or in actual carrying out of the Plan, the demands of any Unit would be overlooked.

The General Principle

All that need happen on this basis of our national Constitution would be that while the Central Government will lay down the governing policy or fundamental principles of the Plan as a whole, the actual framing of the Plan for each Unit, and its detailed carrying out would be left to the component parts of the Federation. The Central Government would, likewise, reserve to itself powers of control, supervision, coordination and integration, which are indispensable for the all-round and simultaneous development of the country in every part. In cases, moreover, where local administration is either inefficient or unequal to the demands of such a Plan; or where for other reasons the local planning or administrative machinery breaks down, the Central Government may also have power to intervene and carry out by its own agency those items in the Plan which relate to that particular region, and so maintain a degree of integrity and simultaneous execution which are indispensable if the Plan is to be real and effective.

All this, however, will not affect the essence of Provincial Autonomy; nor the Independence of the States in the matter of their internal administration. The problem, therefore, even of the States, whether acceding to the Union for all purposes of a common Central Government, or for limited functions, will automatically be solved, if the general principle, given above, is accepted in formulating as well as in carrying out a National Plan, coordinating its various items and integrating its several sectors.

Another equally important feature may next be noted. Planning has hitherto been conceived as if it related merely to large-scale industry. As a matter of fact, the correct conception of this task as given in the National Planning Committee's Directives, makes it a comprehensive, all-round attempt at preordained development of National Life in all its aspects,—material as well as cultural.

It is, in fact, the essence of scientific planning that undue attention should not be concentrated on only one aspect or item, whether Industry or Agriculture, Services, Utilities or Amenities, Material resources or Cultural potentialities.

A comprehensive National Plan must embrace Industries,—large-scale as well as small,—as well as Agriculture in all its forms, subsidiaries, accessories and incidentals. It must include Social Services of Health, Education and Entertainment as much as Public Utilities of Power, Transport and Communications, Banking and Insurance, Trade and Commerce. If all these are properly attended to, the entire foundation of the Social System, and all its motive springs will have to be reconditioned if not revolutionised, so that simultaneous advance on all fronts is made possible.

National Defence

Given such a comprehensively planned economy, political conditions as well as the strategical requirements of the country cannot be excluded from its purview. The programme evolved for itself by the National Planning Committee had one very notable lacuna,—namely that in regard to Defence. While mentioning the Industries required for National Defence, and postulating that these would have to be conducted as exclusive State Enterprises, owned and managed by Government, it gave very little consideration to the large problem of National Defence, its personnel, training and equipment.

National Defence of a country like India under modern conditions includes and implies practically the entire gamut of national life in all its activities.

There may have been reasons why, at the time the National Planning Committee was established, such an omission was inevitable. With the advent of National Sovereignty, however, the Federal Republic of India can no longer overlook this most complex problem of our National Defence and all the Services, Utilities, or Industries needed for that purpose, as integral part and parcel of the National Plan.

If these conditions and peculiarities of a scientific National Plan are accepted and acted upon, the minor problems of Labour and Capital for implementing it; and of Trade—internal as well as external,—will not constitute any insuperable difficulty. The Planning Authority will, no doubt, have to deal with, those problems; and the steps for regulating internal as well as foreign trade and all its accessories of currency and credit, marketing or transport, providing adequate Labour supply for new or established Industries; and taking off the excessive pressure of population on the soil, so that a more even and balanced economy is attained. But these are tasks relatively not at all difficult.

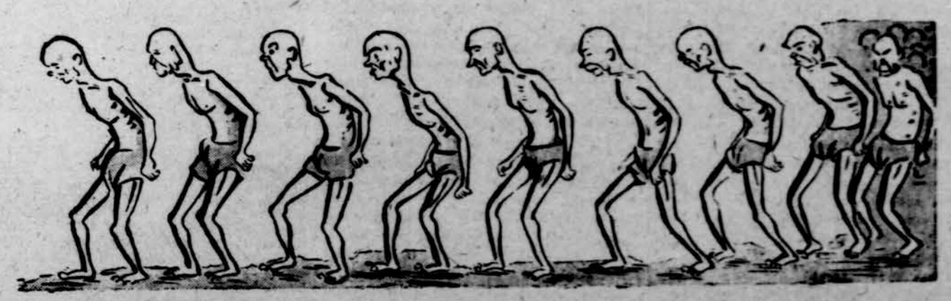
The immediate need would be the decision to frame a Plan, without which the New India of our hopes and dreams will face the gravest menace to her very existence that has ever occurred in her age-old history.

By K. T. Shah

Few persons are more qualified to write about National Planning than the author of this article. An economist of international repute, he has devoted many years to the study of the subject and was Secretary of the National Planning Committee of which Jawaharlal Nehru was the President.

The entire concept and content of our planning has changed with the freedom of India and Prof Shah discusses here the new aspects of the situation. National defence includes almost the entire gamut of national life and it must therefore be the main aim of our planning—as it was that of Soviet Russia.

Plan Or Perish!



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Reflections For The Day

By Sir Rustom Masani

THIS day and this occasion, full of solemn significance, are not the day and occasion for rejoicing, much less for exultation.

A divided household is not a matter for jubilation. This is a moment for sober reflection and stock-taking.

No doubt, we have reason to be glad and thankful for what this day signifies and marks emphatically—the liberation of the country from foreign domination. There is no yoke in the world more galling than the yoke of an alien bureaucracy. We have, therefore, reason to congratulate ourselves and the British rulers also that a trusteeship which seemed to be slowly mending but never ending has at last come to an honourable end. That, certainly, is a matter for profound satisfaction and thanksgiving.

Day Of Thanksgiving

August 15. must be for all Indians the day of thanksgiving. Marking the most notable event in our national life, it calls to memory the honoured names and patriotic endeavours of those heroic sons and daughters of India who, from generation to generation, raised the standard of reform and plunged into the struggle for freedom. Taking their stand on the everlasting principles of human liberty and human justice, they continued the struggle, steadfast in their faith in those principles, until freedom was won. Everything we hold dear depended on their faith and steadfastness.

To the memory of all those champions of liberty and good govt, who are no longer with us and of whom in this article I can single out to-day only one name for special mention, Dadabhai Naoroji of revered memory, the father of Indian Nationalism, the first to give India the "mantram" of self-Government, we pay our loving homage.

Only A Dream

Thankful as we are for the freedom achieved after prolonged struggle, our feeling of gratification and joy is necessarily tempered with the reflection that this is not the freedom for which those heroes have fought and that there are not those conditions in which the free India of their dream could grow unhampered and flourish and have her influence felt on the destiny of the world.

At the outset, therefore, let it be understood that the freedom achieved, such as it is, can only be safe on the foundations of the solidarity of the entire population of our country, mutual understanding, sympathy, reasonableness and justice and that the vision beautiful of a self-governing India taking her legitimte place as a free nation among the nations of the world, endowed with all the strength that her vast man-power and splendid resources could give her, the vision beautiful not only of the patriotic sons and daughters of India who have fought for the freedom of the people, but also of sagacious British statesmen and friends of India who have whole-heartedly helped them in their patriotic toil and struggle, still remains a dream.

For the ordinary man freedom implies conditions in which one's body, mind and spirit may grow freely. It also implies the gradual realization of those conditions. We have however, to take a wider view of the meaning of freedom and its influence on the growth of human personality and on the course of history of one's country and human advancement generally.

Our New Mission

It is this conception of freedom that vitalises and harmonises the corporate life of a nation. The individual embodies and realises within himself the spirit and will of the whole organisation. Into the new world of freedom we are now entering it shall be the mission of all the sons and daughters of India, whether inhabitants of Indian Union or Pakistan to prove, by their bearing in the presence of the most difficult problems that will daily come up for solution concerning the relations of the two Dominions with each other and with the outside world generally that whatever may be their party affiliations or religious convictions, all of them are swayed by the desire to share the fruits of freedom with their fellowmen, to join hands in facilitating by all means in their power the necessary adjustments of the relationship of the two Dominions and to strive to promote the social, economic and political unity of the country. Only then can we hope to see the fulfilment of the dream of a self-governing India rising to the full height of her stature in the new international order which is now emerging.

Opportunity And Responsibility

Patriotism will henceforth have for us a deeper and finer meaning than it has had before. Despite division of territories and barriers of frontiers the love of the country as a whole shall glow within us, not less but more with the growing demands that will be made on the children of the soil to compete joyfully in service to their motherland and with their growing ardour and readiness to respond cheerfully to the call.

The emotional interest, the sensational demonstrations, the terrific excitement of defiance of authority and conflict with a powerful Government and its tragic experiences are now matters of the past. Without the emotional background of those days the population of each Dominion will now be face to face with new opportunities and responsibilities. Their spirit of service and their devotion to the motherland and will now be tested by their constructive policies and action, as their patriotism and courage in vindicating the self-respect of the nation were tested by their civil disobedience campaigns and readiness to court imprisonment.

India has never needed so keenly as she does now men and women of clear understanding of the problems of tomorrow, capacity for productive service and skill and sagacity to bind up the wounds of what is for us, today, a broken household and a broken world. We hope and pray that such gifted and devoted sons and daughters may come forward in daily increasing numbers to help, cheer and inspire the builders of to-morrow.

A FLAG IS BORN

By K. A. Abbas

THE patriotic insurrectionists of 1857, Hindus and Muslims, who all but choked imperialism in its infancy marched under the flag of the Mughals.

But, when, with fire and sword, foreign trickery and indigenous treachery, the national revolt against imperialist tyranny was suppressed and dubbed a 'sepoy mutiny,' the Mughal flag was hauled down from the ramparts of the Red Fort. And up went the red-and-blue criss-crossed Union Jack of victorious imperialism.

With typical hypocrisy, the imperialists superimposed a star on their own Union Jack and inscribed it with the blasphemous legend, "Heaven's Light Our Guide". This, then, was the flag of India.

But it was not! Except a few toadies and opportunists who, on imperial occasions, festooned their residences or shops with Union Jacks, really no Indian cared for this flag. No Indian really honoured this flag. No Indian died for this flag: No Indian KNEW it was the flag of India.

But the imperialists continued to lie to the world: THIS is the flag of India!

Meanwhile, some said the Kesari BHAGWA JHENDA, associated with the memories of the great Shivaji and his gallant band, was the flag of India. But it was not. The sweep of this banner was limited to provincial and communal patriotism. Nor could the traditional green PERCHAM of Islam be accepted as the national emblem.

And then out of the developing struggle against imperialism emerged a tri-colour flag with a charkha superimposed on it that beckoned the patriots and rallied them to the cause of freedom. When on a cold December morning it went up a lofty flagmast on the banks of the Ravi, it defiantly proclaimed a new goal for the nation: COMPLETE INDEPENDENCE.

It was under this flag that on January 26, 1930, at several thousand public meetings, in cities and towns and villages, the nation took the Independence Pledge.

"We believe that it is the inalienable right of the Indian people, as of any other people, to have freedom and to enjoy the fruits of their toil....We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain Purna Swaraj or complete independence...."

It was behind this flag that Gandhiji and his loyal seventy-nine Satyagrahi followers began their historic Dandi March and it was under this same flag that the Congress launched the mighty Civil Disobedience movement. At meetings and in processions the flag flew overhead to cheer and inspire the multitude. It became a symbol of the new defiant spirit—the spirit of freedom, of revolt.

The Government, realizing the symbolic significance of the flag, banned it. And it was all that was needed to endear it all the more to the hearts of the people.

The Satyagrahis carrying the flag were arrested. They were beaten up, kicked, shot at. There were cases of flag-bearers at Congress meetings under lathi charge holding aloft this banner of revolt till they were beaten into unconsciousness. And then someone else would rush and take up the flag and the shower of lathi blows would start all over again. Not a few gave their lives and many suffered severe injuries to protect the honour of the flag.

The flag was banned. To carry it was a crime. So school boys thought up the bright idea of transforming themselves into walking flags—Saffron caps, white shirts, green shorts! Wowen went about in saries dyed in the seditious saffron-white-green pattern! The flag overnight contrived to appear on brooches, buttons, ear-drops, rings, letter papers, envelopes! Badges with the tricolour imprint appeared on coat collars and lapels and caps and shirts by the tens of thousands! The bureaucracy was challenged in its own citadels by daring youths who climbed to roofs of courts and offices and tops of University towers to pull down the hated imperialist emblem and in its place to hoist the tri-colour. The refrain of the flag song, "JHENDA UNCHA RAHE HAMARA" was vindicated in many exciting ways.

Thus it was that a strip of cloth became a symbol of freedom. Symbol of revolt. Symbol of national unity and of national regeneration.

While the imperialists continued to parade their own flag as that of India at international Governmental gatherings, in the course of time the tricolour of resurgent India made its appearance abroad at rallies of anti-imperialists and socialists and others who believed in the freedom of India. At the World Youth Congress in New York, several millions saw the frail Yusuf Meherally, the leader of the Indian Delegation, carry a gigantic tricolour in the March Past of youth representing over 50 nations. To embattled China the flag went with the Congress Medical Mission. It also flew at meetings held in England and America to support Indian freedom.

Gradually the world—at least the non-official world—came round to recognize the tricolour as the flag of the Indian people. But still it was not the flag of the Indian Government. Because the Indian Government still did not belong to the Indian people. Even the advent of Congress ministries did not invest the tricolour with official authority. It remained a party flag, the symbol of an ideal and a cause. The Union Jack continued to cast its imperial shadow over the land.

Then came the British "capitulation", the declaration of the immediate transfer of power, the inauguration of the Constituent Assembly to frame the constitution of a free India. Among the other historic tasks, the Constituent Assembly was charged with the responsibility to devise the flag of the Indian Republic. What should it be? The Hindu Mahasabhaites demanded the "BHAGWA JHANDA". The imperialists politely hinted that it would give them pleasure to see a little Union Jack in the corner of whatever other design the Constituent Assembly might choose. Gandhiji, with his usual large-hearted generosity, seemed to favour this proposal. But India was determined to end the British connection as soon as possible and wanted to give no corner (or quarter) to imperialism on its flag. So the final design emerged—the same colour combination as the old Congress flag, with the difference that the 'Charkha' was replaced by a 'Chakra' associated with the memory of the Great and Good Ashoka. And in a speech that will be recorded among the great orations of our times Jawaharlal Nehru commended the new flag to the members of the Constituent Assembly and through them to the people of the country:

"This flag that I have the honour to present to you is not, I hope and trust, a flag of Empire, a flag of imperialism, a flag of domination over anybody but a symbol of freedom not only of ourselves but of all people who may see it.....Behind this resolution and the flag that I have the honour to present to this House for adoption lies history—the concentrated history of a short span in the nation's existence.... So in this simple formula there is much more than would appear on the surface. There is the struggle of a people for freedom, with all its ups and downs, trials and disasters, and there is finally today, as I move this resolution, a certain triumph about it a measure of triumphant conclusion to that struggle."

The new flag thus embodies the continuity of the traditions associated with the freedom struggle and also a new pattern of national unity and sovereignty.

The tricolour remains but the "Charkha" which had come to be associated too closely with Gandhian ideology of non-violence and agrarian economy has been substituted by the Ashoka "Chakra" — a wheel at once more beautiful and more appropriate for a national symbol. The wheel—be it the wheel of "Karma" or the wheel of the industrial age—is a symbol of activity, advancement, progress. Even literally the wheel represents — revolution!

And thus the new flag carries on the traditions of the old one, but is now transformed from an emblem of struggle into a symbol of achievement, from a party flag into a NATIONAL standard. The speeches of Mr. Anthony and Chaudhrie Khaliquzzaman, echoing the sentiments expressed by Pandit Nehru, and the directives issued by the League leaders calling upon Muslims in India to honour the flag as their own have happily demonstrated that all parties are at least united in their loyalty to the flag. This, indeed, may be the first step towards the realisation of united nationhood.

The adoption of the flag coincides with or, rather, proclaims the birth of a sovereign state — in this case, the Republic of India. From now on the tricolour with the Ashoka "chakra" shall be the symbol of India's honour and prestige.

And yet a flag, by itself, is just a strip of cloth. But it acquires symbolic value in direct proportion to the greatness —and may one add 'goodness'?—of the country it represents. It will be respected so long as the values upheld by that country are worthy of respect. The French tricolour once stood for 'Liberty, Equality and Fraternity' and, therefore, it inspired and was respected by freedom-loving people all over the world. But it came to be, in turn, the flag of a ruthless colonial imperialism, of an effete and degenerate republic, and (during the inglorious Vichy regime) of an ignominious vassal of Nazism. The American flag stands for Liberty and Democracy but it also affords protection to monopoly capitalism and racial intolerance. On the other hand, the Soviet's Red Flag is held in esteem by toiling masses all the world over not because it is the flag of a Great Power but because it represents social justice and economic democracy.

The new flag of India (like the French and American flags before it) is born out of glorious traditions of a struggle for freedom. But in future its prestige in the world will depend upon the character and conduct — internal and external—of the Indian Republic. And so, while reverently and affectionately saluting the flag on this great and auspicious day, one fervently hopes that it will represent everwidening liberties and will never come to be associated with any form of oppression abroad — or tyranny at home!

AUGUST 15, 1947

The Portals stand open

The portals of freedom stand open and *to-day*—a day of general rejoicing throughout this vast subcontinent—we see the foundations being laid on which will arise a new nationhood.

The outlines of the structure of this new nationhood—though not identical with those of our ideals for which many toiled and many more suffered for years—are taking clear, concrete shape to-day.

We join our policy holders and our brothers and sisters in this vast land in offering respects and greetings to all those who have brought us to the very portals of freedom.

In the years that lie ahead, sunny or clouded as they may be, we shall add our weight to that foundation of stability and security on which alone the structure of the new nationhood can rise.

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FROM DESTRUCTION TO CONSTRUCTION

The second just after the midnight of Thursday, the 14th of August 1947, will usher in a New Era with immense potentialities for good or for evil, not only for the whole of India, but indirectly the whole world.

The two Dominions will formally come into being, and will begin in law to function as independent States with diplomatic recognition throughout the world. Everyone, whether in India or Pakistan, is full of expectancy and hope.

The expectancy and hope are not without their counterpart of anxiety and uncertainty for the future. There is no doubt about the eternal law that "day follows night" and that the dawn will surely follow the midnight transfer of power; and yet there is ample cause for anxiety as to how long the dark night will continue before we see the dawn and get the light and warmth of the rising sun of true Independence.

Apart from the general post-war conditions, in which all people of the world have an unsettled frame of mind on account of the uncertainty of the future, the acute shortage of prime necessities like food and clothing, unprecedented inflation, general fall in moral standards and human values, we in India are perhaps faced with a special drawback in our approach to and psychological set-up of our political life.

Risk Of Disintegration

Up to now we had only one aim, in which all of us—the various parties and groups in the country—were united. We had concentrated on "Quit India". The common opposition to the British had not been very prominently brought on the surface the differences amongst ourselves, based on different types of ideology as to society, the content of independence and the ways and means to achieve that independence.

With the disappearance of this welding factor of alien rule, we are now exposed to the risk of disintergration on account of various forces created by our differences, —leave alone the communal or religious differences, which, in my opinion, are a passing phase and the present outcome of the policy of "divide and rule" hitherto followed by the British.

It is difficult to overcome these communal differences overnight. But I do believe that ultimately the economic and cultural interests of the masses will prevail over the artificial barriers of race of religion and kill the communal virus so consistently and systematically introduced in the body-politics of India. It will be other

G. V. MAVLANKAR,
President, Indian Legislative Assembly

types of differences which are both a source of hope as well as of anxiety.

The unity in opposition to the British has brought with it a serious drawback in our frame of mind and approach with reference to our political problems. This has been a necessary corollary of the situation in which we had to fight for independence. The Government of the country was not responsible to us, and we have been, therefore, nutured, so far as our politics go, in an atmosphere of undiluted opposition to authority. We have not been trained of accustomed to anything like responsible opposition, as we find in parliamentary life in England.

Permanent Role Of Opposition

Never having the chance of functioning as Government, all that we could do was to criticise and blame the Government and to oppose it. Whatever the real difficulties of Goverment might ye, we could not feel concerned with them, and, therefore, could not take them into consideration. Ours was to oppose.

We were busy with destruction without a chance or thought of construction. Our approach to every problem is based on this mode of psychology. We have been accustomed to it for years, for at least two generations, if one may say so.

From and after the midnight of 14th August, there will be a sudden change, and we shall be able to bring to the 400 millions of India to independenc to the extent to which we appreciate our responsibilities and begin to work with a new frame of mind and approach.

We have to realise that our criticism and suggestions have now to be responsive and constructive. We have to realise that the various Governments consist of our own representatives; in other wards, we ourselves-each one of us-are Government. Everyone of us, therefore bears responsibility that a Minister formally carries, and we must get out of the habit of looking to Government for every kind of good and evil. We must begin to feel that we are not different from the Government that be, and are completely identified with it in every respect.

Programme Of Reconstruction

We have to construct. We have to work to bring up the economic and cultural level of the masses. We must produce more food. We must spread education, not merely literacy. We must lead the people to a better way of life, which would mean better living conditions, better food, better sanitation, better education, greater leisure and opportunities for enjoying life, etc.

All this means huge programmes of social and economic reconstruction. No amount of a careful drafting of any constitution, or of the method of electing representatives on communal or other basis or by means of proportional representaton, or disributive or cumulative voting, etc. is going to bring, by itself, to the masses, the real purpose of independence, and, therefore, real independence.

If, on the other hand, we miss this point-of-view, one cannot visualise anything other than a scramble for power, personal greed, and all evils which follow these things in their wake. Our future depends upon the way we take.

I cannot do better than invite the readers' attention to what Mr. Booker T. Washington said in his famous Autobiography "UP FROM SLAVERY" published in 1901. Mr. Washington said:—

"Our greatest danger is that in the great leap from slavery to freedom we may overlook the fact that the masses of us are to live by the productions of our hands, and fail to keep in mind that we shall prosper in proportion as we learn to dignify and glorify common labour and put brains and skill into the common occupations of life; shall prosper in proportion as we learn to draw the line between the superficial and the substantial, the ornamental gewgaws of life and the useful. No race can prosper till it learns that there is as much dignity in tilling a field as in writing a poem. IT IS AT THE BOTTOM OF LIFE WE MUST BEGIN, AND NOT AT THE TOP. Nor should we permit our grievances to overshadow our opportunities."

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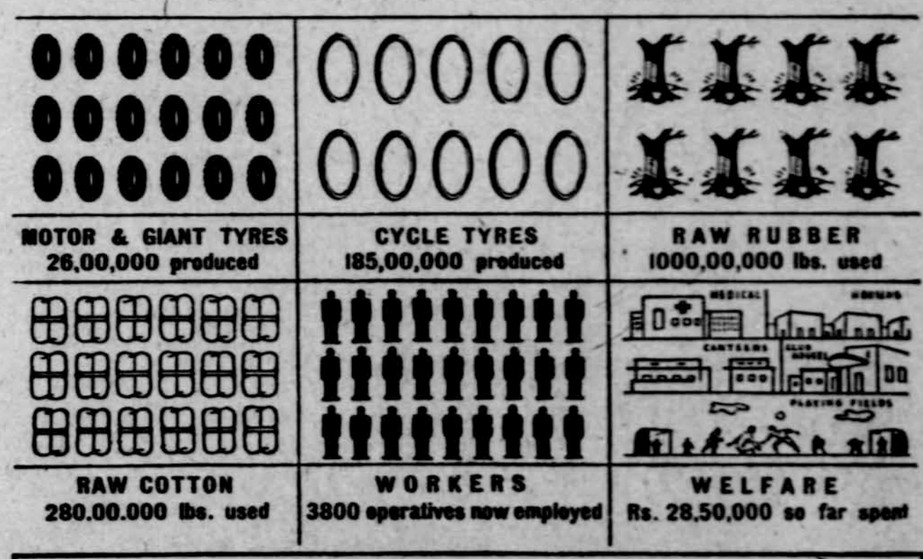

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Looking Ahead

IT is in the fitness of things that we celebrate the Independence of India today, when after nearly a century of oppression and foreign rule, we the citizens, without distinction of caste, creed or colour, breathe the air of Freedom.

I am aware the birth of Indian freedom has not been without its sadder aspect, the communal strife preceding it and the most painful fact of the division of the country in twain, viz: the Dominion of India and Pakistan. Nevertheless, this day will be written in the annals of world history as a unique occasion, when by sheer force of non-violence and passive resistance, our country has been able to achieve a peaceful transfer of Power from its Imperialist Rulers.

While, therefore, rejoicing with everyone of you on this occasion, I should at the same time like to emphasise the imperative necessity of being fully conscious of the great tasks that lie ahead. We must not forget at this moment of jubilation and festivity the objectives for which we have fought all these years and won this precious freedom. On the contrary, there should be a solemn resolve on this day of Independence to implement the objective of a comprehensive economic rehabilitation of the country with a view to removing the numerous ills that are afflicting us, viz. poverty, illiteracy and other social disabilities.

BOLD ECONOMIC POLICY

Such a resolve should be followed by the announcement of a bold and courageous economic policy on the part of our Indian Government and that of the Provinces simultaneously with the inauguration of a new Constitution for the country. This economic policy should naturally have for its objectives the economic uplift of the masses from the deep penury into which they have sunk, and raising of the standard of living of the country on a par with other highly developed countries of the world. This is, no doubt, an uphill task which has got to be viewed in the light of the fundamental weaknesses and disorganized state of our economic structure, consequent on the war and its after effects.

The transition from war to peace has severely strained the resources of our country and we are nowhere near the goal of normalcy even after two years of peace. We are in the midst of grave economic crisis with an inflated price-structure giving rise to increased wages and increased cost of production, with all forms of controls on essentials and non-essential commodities and ineffective administration of the same resulting in black-markets and wide public discontent, with a perceptible fall in production, industrial and agricultural, with industrial unrest and resultant strikes and lock-outs, all cumulatively threatening to dislocate completely the economic structure of the country and consequently a breakdown of the Government administrative machinery.

RESULTS OF DIVISION

Over and above these fundamental and important problems confronting us, we have to face the economic effects of the division of the country, which are bound to affect all our plans and programmes concerning economic development. For till recently the concept of economic planning was only with reference to

BY RATILAL M. GANDHI
President, Indian Merchants' Chamber

the whole of India as a single entity and there was not the least expectation that the economic unity of the country will be rent asunder.

Now that division of the country is a 'fait accompli' the perspective of our Planning has changed and the re-adjustments between the two Dominions of all economic and financial matters may cause much difficulty and even upset our future plans.

We hope that the two Dominions will work in a spirit of collaboration and mutual co-operation, so as to obviate the numerous difficulties with which we are otherwise likely to be confronted.

In planning for the future, our immediate task should be to bring comfort to the masses by attacking the problem of food and clothing, the vital necessities of life, the minimum guarantee of which alone can keep the people contented and give Government the required stability to proceed with the economic advancement of the country. In order to avert the catastrophe in the food situation there is only one solution and that is increased production by an energetic and vigorous drive for an expansion in our agriculture. Imports at prohibitive costs should never be the permanent policy as hitherto.

The maladministration of all the controls, particularly in cloth and imports, is too well known to need sufficient emphasis. Government should immediately revise their whole policy in respect of controls and aim at gradually relaxing them leaving free scope for trade and commerce to function normally, may be if necessary, under strict supervision.

Next in importance is the price-structure which should be stabilised at a reasonable level guaranteeing a minimum price for the agriculturists and with a view to reducing the industrial costs. This will naturally result in an impetus for increased industrial production which is the supreme need of the hour. If production should rise unimpeded, it is further necessary that Government should assure industrial peace. They have therefore, to tackle the problems of establishing smooth relationship between capital and labour and prevent unnecessary and frequent labour strikes that are the order of the day.

With the advent of freedom and the constitutional settlement I have no doubt that our Popular Governments will now devote their time and energy to the solution of some of the all important question indicated above.

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LET'S BE TRUE TO OUR HERITAGE

IT is a thrilling and, at the same time, a sobering thought that India achieves her independence today after many weary decades of foreign rule.

Generations of Indians, men and women, known and unknown, struggled and suffered in their different ways, with hope and courage in their hearts, to expedite the dawn of this Great Day. Let us salute their memory, with reverence and affection, because it is their sacrifices and hardships, their faith and their optimism which have brought to us this thrill of Freedom today.

It is also a 'sobering' thought to realize that we are now directly responsible for the shaping of our destiny and for ensuring the welfare of hundreds of millions of human beings. In the past we were often content to put the responsibility for our social, political, economic and moral ills on the fact that we were under foreign domination and not masters in our own land. This was no doubt true to some extent but it was also a convenient prop for inaction! It has now been taken away, thus offering a

By K. I. SAIYIDAIN,
Educational Adviser, Govt. of Bombay

great challenge to our capacity for work as well as our social conscience. Freedom having been won, what use are we going to make of it?

Action For Betterment

We cannot obviously relax and take it easy as if the final victory had been won. We cannot sit on our freedom—even as soldiers cannot sit on their bayonets! Conquest of 'political' liberty only means that the decks have been cleared for action. The action is yet to come: only now it is not' action against any foreign authority—as has been the case in the past—nor against sections or groups in our own country with whom we may have disagreed—as some misguided people appear to imagine. It is action against all those forces and tendencies, all those social and economic practices, all that intellectual sloppiness and moral inertia which have kept our national life cribbed and confined, making it impossible for us either to provide decent conditions of living for our people or to pull our full political and moral weight in the councils of the world.

It is nothing less than a crusade to provide the "Good Life" for our masses—of all creeds and communities—and to ensure for them a generous share in the material and cultural amenities, which alone make life worth-while and whose denial compels them to lead a poor, barren, sub-human life. We have to fight simultaneously on two fronts—improvement of the material standards and the enrichment of cultural life, i.e., the economic and cultural reconstruction should go on side by side as parts of a single, integral pattern, each upholding and strengthening the other. Only thus can political freedom pave the way to social and economic freedom.

A Great Opportunity

Shall we be able to do so? Normally, the dawn of freedom should bring with it the inspiration of unconquerable hope and enthusiasm, the idealism and the faith that can move mountains, the feeling of a fine spring morning that the world is ours to mould nearer to our heart's desire. But we have had, unfortunately, to pass through a period of great stress and suffering, involving riots and bloodshed and the denial of all decent human values. That is why the enthusiasm of some is tempered with gloom and the vision of others clouded over with darkening shadows.

But no one, with any sense of perspective can, deny that, inspite of all that has happened, a great opportunity for work and service and a great future lie before us.

We can realize its promise only if we can keep our hold steadfast on the great moral and spiritual values which give meaning to life—an uncompromising passion for fairness and justice, a willing tolerance of differences, a sensitive social conscience, belief in the ultimate triumph of right, and the balanced vision of a life-pattern in which the material and the spiritual, the moral and the economic do not clash as irreconcilable antagonists but fuse into an integral unity.

The Abiding Values

These are precisely the values which are under an eclipse in the world today and which are also being threatened in our own country by an upsurge of fanaticism and narrow-mindedness. But they are also the values which our finest spirits have always cherished and our great religions—Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, Islam—have always preached, values for which, in recent years, men like Tagore and Iqbal and Gandhi and Zakir Husain have laboured, practising them in their life and urging them in poetry and prose of unforgettable power.

If we are true to this heritage of values 'at its best'—which means, incidentally, the courageous rejection of all that is petty and ugly and inferior—and prepared to utilize the great new sources of technical power in the service of social justice and for the enrichment, rather than the destruction, of life, there is no reason why we should not be able to rise to our full stature and also contribute something of value to a harassed and war-torn world.

In that hope, let us salute the dawn of August Fifteenth.

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We, Too, Have Fought For The Flag . . .

TODAY is the day of rejoicing. The great tri-colour flag for which thousands of men and women have fought and suffered is flying on from the highest to the lowest building in the country.

The flag is the symbol of our national freedom and it is indeed a matter of great happiness that we have achieved this freedom without much bloodshed. Comparatively a few men and women have suffered in order that millions may be free.

On an occasion like this one wishes to be reminiscent of the past. I recall the days of 1930 when the whole country rose in spontaneous response to the call of Mahatma Gandhi.

By Mrs. Hansa Mehta

Thousands of men and women irrespective of class, caste or creed joined in the fight for freedom. Nothing like it was even seen before or ever since. The response was indeed unexpected and overwhelming. Every one was anxious to contribute his or her share in some form of service to the country.

There was no coercion and that was the secret of the success the movement in 1930 achieved. Even some of the merchants whose shops we picketed were apologetic for what they were doing and promised not to go in for fresh stock of foreign cloth. I am sure some of them were genuine.

The most unexpected response, however, came from the women. They donned the saffron uniform—the uniform of service—and were prepared to go through any suffering. Neither heat nor rain, nor the lathi blows of the police nor their guns, nor the prison bars had any fears for them.

The honour of unfurling the first national flag of India abroad goes to Madame Cama, the celebrated revolutionary, who spent most of her life in Europe as an exile from her motherland. The memory of Madame Cama is still cherished in the heart of all Indian patriots.

From volunteers in the kitchens to presidents of war councils women assumed many roles. To address crowds of people numbering thousands or even lakhs was nothing to them, who were till then most reluctant to come before the public. Theirs was a real sacrifice, for the only motive that actuated them was the service in the cause of freedom. If the 1930 movement was a success, the credit goes largely to the selfless work of women, and it is with great pride that I say that the largest contribution came from the women of Bombay among whom I include Shrimati Sarojini Naidu who headed the Dharasana Salt Satyagraha.

India has achieved her independence and we shall not be required to fight any more. But our real work begins now. The flag for which we fought must ever remain flying. The flag not only stands for our freedom but also symbolises the great ideals which guided the freedom movement viz., non-violence, truth and tolerance. These cherished ideals must form the foundation on which the new State of India is to be built if at all we wish to build a lasting state free from narrow communal or provincial outlook.

It is for the women to work for this great end. It is an up-hill task no doubt but the very virtues women brought in their fight for freedom will help them to achieve this object, viz., selflessness and perseverence.

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The Longest Road Has Been The Shortest

By Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya is a versatile veteran of the national struggle. Known as the official historian of the Congress, he assesses here the crowning victory which the nation has won today. It has been, he says, a unique achievement in the annals of mankind!

INDIA IS A LAND OF FESTIVALS AND FAITHS.

Overnight a new saint is born and a new cult is set up. Overnight empires are made and empires are marred. A century is but the twinkling of an eye when compared to eternity and the British empire has as unexpectedly and suddenly disappeared from India as it had appeared a century ago.

To those who have participated in the struggle the way appeared long and the journey wearisome. But to the historian who skips over centuries as does the aeroplane over continents, the sojourn of the Britisher in India is but momentary and the ending of his empire with its new capital at Delhi which was well predicted when the capital was shifted from Calcutta on he 12th of December 1911, as but the sequel to the fall of the seven empires that had preceded it. Empires come and go, but Delhi remains for ever.

The Longest—And Shortest

When a traveller completes his journeys, he enjoys a recapitulation of the toils and moils that he has survived. He often wonders whether shorter-cuts pointed to him in his journey were not wantonly abandoned which might have abridged the time and labour involved in the journey. How often have we not meditated whether we would not have reached our goal earlier and easier if we had accepted the Montague Reforms of 1921 and the Simon Committee recommendations of 1927, if we had accepted the Federation of 1935 and worked the scheme in a spirit of constructive helpfulness, if we had participated in war effort and won the goodwill of the United Kingdom.

On the contrary we have chosen the longest path which proverbially is the shortest way home. We believe our choice to have been right, our plans correct and our achievements satisfactory. We have converted the opponent by our soul-force; we have not overpowered him by our brute-strength.

It is not victory that tells nor the result that counts. Means are greater than ends and struggle is higher than success. Germany has been conquered by Britain, Russia and America. But today the victors are the vanquished, for friends have become foes. The slow penetration of truth into untruth, the gentle displacement of darkness by light, and the invisible permeation of life into the domain of death, is what India has achieved in her striving for self emancipation. She has resisted the all too powerful temptation to brutalise herself or her opponent.

Her success in her labours has exalted her erstwhile enemy no less than it has sustained herself on the high pedestal from what it has carried on the fight.

When the end of the warfare is in sight, one feels exalted by its unexpected advent, not traceable to the havoc over hundreds of miles of an unsuspected atom bomb but to the regeneration and chastening of an obdurate heart by soul-stirring methods.

Decades Of Struggle

A review of the progress of the political institutions in India from epoch to epoch shows that the Congress born in 1885, took 7 years of agitation before the elected element could be introduced into the legislatures (1893) then sixteen years to have the right of moving resolutions (1909), another dozen years to move and discuss finance Bills (1921) and finally fourteen more years to establish provincial autonomy (1935). And through what agonies had we not passed between 1921 and 1935 which ranged from the Muddiman Committee 1923, the Simon Commission in 1927, its two visits in 1928 and 1929—its report in 1929, the several Round Table Conferences in 1930-31-32, the Indian analogue thereof, the Butler Committee on States 1929, the Davidson Committee 1930, the Joint Parliamentary Committee 1933, the White Paper, the Bill and the Act of 1935! It was a torture to political India. Yet it remained frankly other determination'—not even 'joint determination', muchless 'self determination'.

The Nation did not lose heart. In the midst of lurking doubt and latent despair of unabashed calumny and unrelenting cynicism of silent antagonism and open hostility, it has laboured on and on adhering to its eternal verities of truth and non-violence, with undying faith in humanity and unwavering zeal for the motherland. There were times when the faith have faltered and the fervour faith may have faltered and the fervour may have flagged but faith moves mountains and fervour works miracles. There was a time when doubt seized exalted minds who began to ask whether the continued adherence to the Bombay Resolution (August 1942) was wise or sensible. But lo and behold, in the midst of darkness and despair there becomes visible a streak of light, a ray of hope penetrating the darkness around and showing the way to the stranded traveller. That was how the imprisoned Working Committee was released from the Ahmednagar Fort, the Elections were held, the parleys were conducted and independence has been established.

A Small Discoloration

As if to teach us humility and bring down the high looks of the proud there appears a small discoloration on the map of India which stunts her proportions, attenuates her independence and subdues her exaltation. So be it.

But no man can rend asunder for ever those whom God hath united. If our hearts are pure, if our souls are blemishless, we shall one day be reunited to those brothers and sisters with whom we have parted company.

Meanwhile let India make her raj truly Swaraj—true to the adjective as well as to the noun, true to tradition as well as envirenment, true to her aspirations and her ambitions. If she perseveres on the lines she has pursued, she will have set a noble example not alone to posterity but to her contemporaries in South East Asia so that the tragedy of Burma which is but a repetition on an enlarged scale of the assassination of Michael Collins in Ireland over twenty years ago, may not disfigure the future history of herself of her contemporaries, so that the treacherous disappointments of Indonesia and Egypt may not get a foothold on India which has vindicated the truimph of non-violence in an age where Dharma itself is treading the earth on but one foot, but an age too which in the ever-recurring cycles of time, is the precursor of that age—the Satya Yug where truth and non-violence will reign supreme.

Triumph Of The Mahatma

I REGARD it as a proud privilege to be asked by the Editor of the 'Bombay Chronicle' to contribute a message to its Supplement to be issued on the 15th of August to celebrate the auspicious occasion of the complete transfer of power from British to Indian hands.

It is, indeed an occasion of greatest throughout the length and breadth of the country when foreign domination and state of slavery come to an end and we become masters of our motherland and makers of our own destiny. On this great event in the history of our country one cannot but be reminded of the tremendous sacrifices that our departed leaders and those who are luckily with us have heroically made in the grim struggle for our country's liberation from bondage, covering a period of over 50 years, particularly ever since the year 1921, when luckily for us our revered Mahatmaji took up the leadership of this vast country and launched the great historical non-violent non-co-operation movement.

NO ALTERNATIVE

The quit-India resolution of 1942, under the guidance of Mahatmaji, was the last danger signal to the British Imperialism. That, indeed, showed people's determination to govern their own country by putting an end to the British rule. Before such an iron will of the people, no alternative was left to the British Government but to yield and withdraw peacefully from Indian soil and it is the untiring efforts and sacrifices of the Congress, under the superb leadership of revered Mahatmaji that have brought about this glorious day.

It seldom falls to the lot of a leader to see the fruits of his labour in his life time. That honour is Mahatmaji's and his name will go down not only in the history of this country but in the history of the world as the one leader, who achieved freedom by non-violent means and bloodless revolution for such a vast country as India, consisting of people, following different religions and creeds, so unprecedented in the history of the world.

By Dr. S. M. Hasan, Minister, C. P.

On this unique occasion I pay my humble tribute to him for his political sagacity, his great sacrifices and broad vision. I fervently pray God to spare long this revered liberator of our freedom, before whose iron will the mighty British Imperialism has surrendered and is quitting our country, to bring about unity and harmony amongst the warring elements for the creation of a new, united has prosperous India, of which we will be proud and which will be as Independent a country as any other in the world.

In the midst of our joy and rejoicings let us not forget the fact that we have to shoulder a very heavy responsibility in managing our own affairs and do our best to carve out an Independent and prosperous India safeguarding the natural rights and privileges of the down-trodden and poverty stricken people.

Before I close I feel impelled to congratulate the "Bombay Chronicle" for persistently espousing the cause of the Congress against many odds ever since its inception in the year 1913, when it was founded by that great patriot, Sir Phiroseshah Mehta of revered memory.

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Quinquennial Sta[redacted]he Bank's Progress since Commencement

HALF-YEAR [redacted]	PAID-UP CAPITAL.	DEP[redacted]	[redacted]SS PROFIT FOR THE HALF-YEAR.	NET PROFIT FOR THE HALF-YEAR.	RATE OF DIVIDEND FOR THE HALF-YEAR INCLUDING BONUS.	BALANCE IN RESERVE FUND.
		R	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.
30		2	1,28,197	56,772	6% p.a.	75,000
30			1,77,293	80,621	6% p.a.	2,50,000
30			3,65,832	1,38,258	10½% p.a.	5,50,000
30			4,55,608	1,24,620	10½% p.a.	7,00,000
30			5,85,397	1,02,287	9% p.a.	12,00,000
30			6,57,358	1,09,806	9% p.a.	13,00,000
30			9,44,116	42,229	6% p.a.	16,01,800
30			41,49,361	10,57,274	14% p.a.	82,00,000

[redacted]y the Bank during the Last 40 Years is 9.8% per annum.

N. GOPALAIYER,
Secretary

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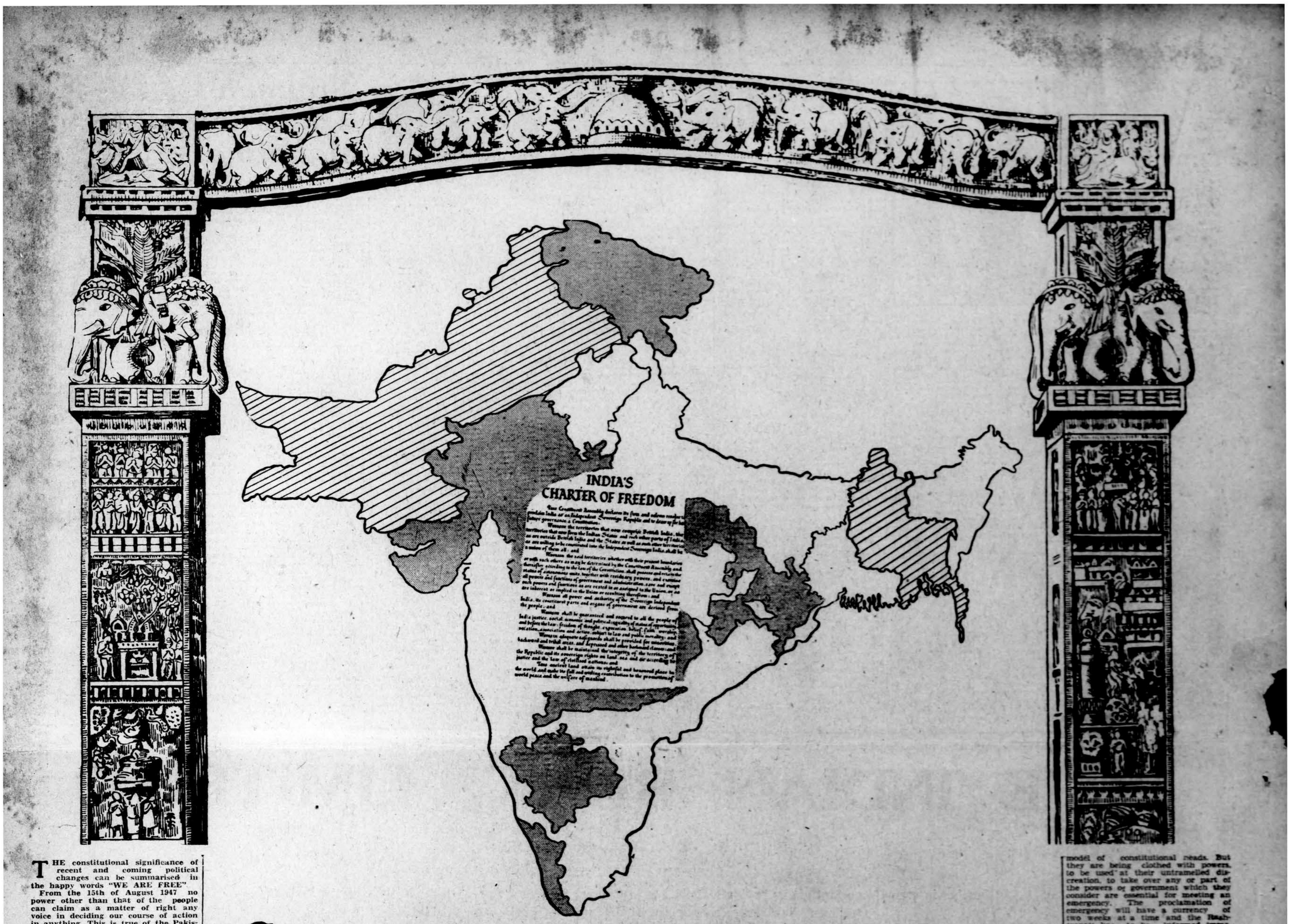

Constitution Of Free India

The Evolution Of The Fundamental Laws Of Our Government

By D. G. Karv

THE constitutional significance of recent and coming political changes can be summarised in the happy words "WE ARE FREE"

From the 15th of August 1947 no power other than that of the people can claim as a matter of right any voice in deciding our course of action in anything. This is true of the Pakistan area as well as of the area under the Indian Union.

Apart from constitutional forms and in substance the measure of this 'independence' is no less than that enjoyed by any other state, within or outside the British Commonwealth of Nations. Externally, no power can now claim to have a right to meddle with our affairs, much less to dictate to us what we should do. In the context of the 'One World' age which is fast taking shape we shall indeed have the obligations voluntarily undertaken either by treaty or by membership of international bodies, and in common with other free nations and in the course of evolution of a World State, in some, let us hope, not very distant future we shall occupy our just place in a congerie of nations. That indeed would be a sublimation and final fulfilment of the freedom that we have achieved to-day.

Fateful Task

Internally, it is now for ourselves to decide how we shall govern ourselves so that peace may be maintained, justice may be done, prosperity may be achieved and our freedom will be safeguarded. The forms of government and administration under which we sustained our existence till now were essentially the forms of a foreign exploiting corporation. These were gradually diluted and altered so as to provide for a state of increasing association of the people. But having reached a stage at which this increasing association would not permit the essential principle of that government to operate the whole edifice of the governing scheme has been thrown into the discard.

A new scheme of government, a new constitution, has, therefore, to be framed which will realize the legitimate objectives of democracy in the social and economic, no less than in the political and administrative spheres. In its own way this task is so responsible and is so fateful that it might try the best brains of our leaders and experts for months, if not, years. Experience of constitution making elsewhere illustrates how arduous and how prolonged the task can be. And with all these strenuous and sustained efforts few constitutions have been found either to satisfy all the significant interests in the nation or the changing needs of the time.

In the light of this experience it is somewhat unfortunate that on account of the division of the country which synchronizes with the dawning of freedom, it was not possible to run the existing constitution a little longer as a free government. Disruption was in any case coming and naturally nothing but a transitional arrangement could be put in its place. This was regrettable but unavoidable, and the unfortunate consequence has been that matters that took years elsewhere have to be settled in months and weeks in the Indian Constituent Assembly. Elsewhere, deliberations within the Constituent Assembly were accompanied by a free exchange of opinion in the country at large and thus the constitutions that emerged were the outcome of a significant national effort.

Either because the time at the disposal of our constitution-makers was short or because other striking events were taking place in India and outside this air of free and extensive discussion has for the most part been lacking. Even within the Constituent Assembly much as the venerable president tried to keep the atmosphere free from the stifling influence of party discipline, few have dared to express dissenting views, and even such as mustered courage enough to express a free opinion felt constrained to support by vote things about which they expressed strong opposition.

Amendment Of Constitution

Whether all this measure of constraint was or is necessary is a matter which may for the present purpose be left out of discussion. And yet the conclusion that a constitution framed in a hurry and in an atmosphere of regimented opinion is likely to prove more inadequate and more unsatisfactory than similar constitutions elsewhere cannot be avoided. We can, however, afford to be reasonably optimistic about the future as the main principles and structure of the constitution now being shaped in Delhi conform to principles of democracy.

This is true in particular about the method of constitutional amendment that is proposed. Constitutional amendment can be initiated in either house of the Federal Legislature and provided it obtains a majority of total and two-thirds of the used votes in each house it becomes effective with the Rashtrapati's sanction. An exception is rightly made for matters the states. Even granting that all affecting the position of provinces the states that may appropriately be and powers of the Supreme Co the Indian Union Amendments to the constitution to the federation ling in this class passed by the um free to do so federal houses as above have to the three federal further ratified by unit legislatures by the Cabinet presenting a majority of the pe foreign relations affected by the proposal. It is to be hop-

Areas of provinces can be varied ing number will Federal Legislation with the cons the federation of legislatures of affected areas. pheres of action in the initial stages territorial reor und even now nization as well as modifications n all fours with the constitutional structure are li ly to be urgently desired by import ure the states sections of the people these amend are speaking provisions have special importan who as a class and as they do not err either on terest, which it side of extreme rigidity or extre ational interest outside the in-deration. In the confidently ex- governments ll the hesitating more readily eir intere sim not

Problem Of States

All the essential powers of a ration in the military, industrial administrative fields are now as to the future Government of I in so far as the provinces are cerned. It is a pity that the cannot be said about the positio

any support and declared his adhesion to the draft clause.

While in fact, for states as well as for provinces the local administrative machinery may be used for federal purposes this course is dependent on efficiency of the departments concerned and in any case the ultimate choice of agency lies with federal authority. To a constitutional purist the proposed status of the acceding states is an obvious anomaly. But considering the pressure of political events, which all the world over are more potent in shaping political forms than political theory, and especially in the context of prospective popularization of state governments, the somewhat unsatisfactory state of things must be tolerated.

Position Of Rashtrapati

The details of the structure of the the federal and provincial constitutions are being settled and can hardly be treated with any show of adequacy in the present place. But some features so obviously call for that it will be wrong to forg in any the most summary tion

model of constitutional heads. But they are being clothed with powers to be used at their untrammelled discretion, to take over any or part of the powers of government which they consider are essential for meeting an emergency. The proclamation of emergency will have a currency of two weeks at a time and the Rashtrapati has to be informed immediately on the issue of the extraordinary writ. Presumably the Rashtrapati, with the advice of the Federal Cabinet, will issue further directions to the provincial governor.

All this amalgam of panic and twisted political theory is highly charged with possibilities inimical to democracy and the smooth running of the administration. Direct election of the executive head has a meaning and a propriety if he 'not only reigns but governs'. But to make the provincial governor the single most directly chosen representative of the people and then expect that he will be no more

(Continued on Page 8)

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